

THE DETERMINANTS OF INTERNATIONAL COVERAGE
IN U.S. TELEVISION NEWS

By

GUY GOLAN

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by

Guy Golan

To my parents Dina and Amnon.

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Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School
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By

Guy Golan

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Chair: Marilyn Roberts

Cochair: Wayne Wanta

Major Department: Mass Communication

Television network news programs serve as an important source of news about the world for most Americans. While many international news stories receive coverage on network news programs, the vast majority of international events do not. The current study investigates what characteristics make a country newsworthy to American network news programs.

A content analysis of every evening news program of the ABC, CBS, NBC and CNN networks from 1999 reveals a disparity in the amount of coverage that 190 nations from around the world received from the networks. The current study analyzes 190 nations for more than a dozen variables that previous research found to be highly associated with coverage.

The current study used a regression test to create a generalized linear model that identified several key country based variables as highly associated with television network news coverage.

These include instability, distance from the United States, U.S. investment, U.S. aid, religious diversity, military expenditures, and population.

The study provides a review of previous research on the determinants of international news coverage and argues for the inclusion instability, relevance to the United States, cultural affinity, and location in the hierarchy of nations as key variables to be used in future research.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Television news programs serve as important information sources for most Americans about events that occur around the world. Limited by time and space, news editors often have to select less than a handful of international stories while leaving dozens of news stories off the air. This complicated news selection process has been widely investigated by mass communication researchers who attempt to analyze the factors that make an event or a news object newsworthy. The current study aims to advance knowledge of the newsworthiness concept by investigating the factors that are associated with it. More specifically, the current study will attempt to measure the association between a nation's characteristics and the amount of coverage that country receives from television network news programs. The study focuses primarily on the international news selection process.

The examination of the factors that influence the coverage of international news events has been a key area of research for more than five decades. As noted by Wu (1998), the examination of the flow and coverage of international events has produced a plethora of studies and has become one of the most important fields in international communication research. An underlying concern of many of these studies is the news selection process that makes some events around the world more newsworthy to media gatekeepers than others events (for example, Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Ostgaard, 1965; Hester, 1971).

Following the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s, the world entered an era of globalization which saw the increasing worldwide interaction between economic markets. Suddenly, events that took place in Asia had a direct and immediate impact on financial markets in Europe, the United States, and South America (Friedman, 2000). The age of globalization revealed the opportunities of the new global economy and the international salience of events. In this new era of globalization, knowledge about events from around the world was no longer supplemental but a necessity.

In addition to presenting new opportunities, globalization has also created new threats. The tragedy of September 11, 2001, revealed a web of terror that spun across many different nations. Suddenly, what seemed to be isolated events from past years emerged as building blocks of an international terror apparatus. The emergence of the al Qaeda terror organization in such countries as Sudan, Afghanistan, the Philippines, and Yemen demonstrated to policymakers, the mass media, and the public the need for a more global perspective. Now more than ever, events that occur in remote areas of the world can no longer be regarded as unimportant as they may later become a piece of the larger global picture.

News Selection Process

As noted by Shoemaker, Eichholz, Kim, & Wrigley (2001), the gatekeeping concept is one of the oldest in the field of mass communication. As described by the authors, gatekeeping refers to the process by which potential news is narrowed and shaped into the actual news that is transmitted by the news media (p. 233). In other words, the gatekeeping process may be understood in terms of a news selection process in which news media editors (gatekeepers) decide which event or story is newsworthy and which is not newsworthy.

To better understand this gatekeeping process, researchers have focused on different news factors that influence the news selection process. This research tries to explain the nature of a story or an event that makes it newsworthy to media gatekeepers. Findings offer a wide array of variables that are likely to influence gatekeepers' news selection decisions (for example, Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Hester, 1971; Schulz, 1982; Chang, Shoemaker, & Brendlinger, 1987).

Research on the news factors that influence coverage of international events is often referred to as research of the determinants of international news coverage. As noted by Chang et al. (1987) and Wu (1998), research in the field usually follows one of two theoretical approaches: the event-oriented approach or the contextual approach. While the former focuses on the nature of the international news event, the latter focuses on the contextual characteristics of the countries involved. That is, the event-oriented approach focuses on the nature of the event as its criterion for newsworthiness, while the contextual approach focuses on the nature of the country where the event took place.

Event-oriented Approach

The basic assumption of the event-oriented approach is that in the media gatekeepers' view, the newsworthiness of an international event is likely to be associated with the nature of the event. For example, some studies have indicated that events involving high levels of conflict or deviance are more likely to be covered than similar events that do not offer this degree of conflict or deviance (Chang et al. 1987).

Research regarding the determinants of international news coverage that utilized the event-oriented approach has yielded a rich body of literature. Several recent studies have attempted to identify two to three main variables that are claimed to be strong predictors of event news coverage. Shoemaker, Chang, & Brendlinger (1986) introduced

deviance as the main factor that influences international news coverage. Chang et al. (1987) identified normative deviance, potential for social change and relevance to the United States as key variables that influence news coverage. Shoemaker, Danielian, & Brendlinger (1991) reaffirmed the findings of the two previous studies. However, Chang & Lee (2001) replicated the Chang et al. (1987) study and found deviance to be a nonsignificant variable on international news coverage. Instead, Chang and Lee found U.S. involvement and threat to the United States to be the two strongest predictors of coverage in both newspapers and television.

Contextual Approach

The contextual approach's basic assumption for the investigation of the determinants of international news coverage is the association between national characteristics and the amount of the nation's coverage in the news media. Thus, similar events might occur in different nations and receive disproportionate coverage. For example, a car bombing in Jerusalem will often receive more coverage from the U.S. news media than a car bombing that might have occurred in the Congo or in Cambodia.

Dozens of different studies have identified numerous contextual variables that influence the amount of coverage that nations received from the American news media.

For example, Hester (1973) found cultural affinity to be a strong determinant of international news coverage. Van Belle (2000) found that distance is by far the most significant predictor of international event coverage by network television and *The New York Times*. Worthington (1971) argued that the level of conflict was the best indicator of news coverage. Chang (1998) argued that the location of a nation in the world system is a strong determinant of news coverage. Rosengren & Rickardsson (1974) found trade to be a strong determinant of coverage.

Research on the determinants of international news coverage, based on the contextual approach, appears to have a methodological advantage over the event-oriented approach. Although the event-oriented approach often relies on subjective coding on the part of researchers, contextual variables, such as trade, geographic distance, and gross national product, are often based on highly objective government data.

Purpose

The international news selection process is a complicated and multilayered process. Many factors influence how gatekeepers distinguish some international events as newsworthy. The main purpose of the current study is to examine the country-based factors that are associated with the amount of coverage that nations receive from U.S. television network news programs. Driven by the contextual approach rather than the event-oriented approach, the current study will operationalize the newsworthiness concept using a wide range of country-based variables. The current study will make a contribution to knowledge in the field by providing one of the first multivariate measurements of country-based variables associated with international news coverage.

During the past two decades, researchers have employed more advanced methodologies in an attempt to synthesize previous research findings into a model that might predict international news coverage.

Shoemaker et al. (1986) used discriminant analysis to identify the factors that are most influential on international news coverage. The study hypothesized and supported the notion that deviance is the strongest predictor of international news coverage. This research catalyzed a wide array of studies that investigated international news coverage based on the event-oriented approach. The deviance and relevance variables emerged as the two leading predictive variable categories in explaining international news coverage.

Surprisingly, there have not been many recent studies that focused on the synthesis of the contextual variables of international news coverage. Research during the past five decades has identified more than a dozen contextual variables that influence international news coverage. However, only a few studies, if any, have provided a complete synthesis of the major contextual variables based on previous research.

Shoemaker et al. (1991) presented the most systematic analysis of both the contextual and event-oriented variables that influence international news coverage. The authors included the major research variables that were identified as strong determinants of international news coverage from previous studies. Using multivariate regression, the authors found that deviance and relevance to the United States are the two most influential variables on the amount of coverage an international event receives in the U.S. news media.

The current study recognizes the contribution of the Shoemaker et al. (1991) study. Recognizing several key limitations in that study, the current research will attempt to build upon and improve on original research findings. Unlike some variables utilized by Shoemaker et al. (1991), which the current study argues to be somewhat subjective, the current study will use mostly objective data from government and academic sources.

Importance of the Study

Understanding what makes an event or a news object newsworthy to news media gatekeepers allows researchers to understand the very nature of news itself. When it comes to the international news selection process, this insight can help scholars understand not only what shapes the media agenda concerning the world, but also how this coverage may shape and influence public opinion and governmental policies.

As suggested by previous studies, the nature of international news coverage has a direct influence on U.S. public opinion. For example, a study by Salwen & Madera (1992) found correlations between foreign news coverage and public opinion that suggested that international news coverage does indeed have an agenda-setting effect. Wanta & Hu (1993) examined the agenda-setting impact of international news and found a strong agenda-setting impact of international news stories on American public opinion, especially on conflict-related stories and concrete presentations. McNelly & Izcaray (1986) found that news exposure significantly related to positive feelings toward countries and to perceptions of those countries as successful. Semetko, Brzinski, Weaver & Willnat (1992) found that attention to foreign affairs news was a better predictor of positive perceptions of nations than simple exposure to newspapers.

The strong relationship between international news coverage and public opinion makes it important for researchers to advance knowledge of the international news selection process. The current study aims to accomplish just that.

Structure of Presentation

The current study explores the contextual determinants of international news coverage. Chapter 1 highlights past research into the determinants of international news coverage and introduces the two theoretical perspectives used to predict international news coverage.

Chapter 2 provides a literature review of the determinants of international news coverage. First, the chapter discusses the gatekeeping concept and the concept of news values. Next, Chapter 2 details the event-oriented approach, its major research findings, and key limitations. Chapter 2 then considers the contextual approach and its main findings. The chapter reviews previous research of these contextual variables and

identifies cultural affinity (Hester, 1973), location within the hierarchy of nations (Chang, 1998), conflict (Riffe & Shaw, 1982), and relevance to the United States (Chang & Lee, 2001) as key variable categories used to predict coverage of international events. The chapter also discusses the contribution of the Shoemaker et al. (1991) study and its key findings and limitations. Finally, this chapter explains how the current study proposes to overcome some of these identified limitations.

Chapter 3 outlines the methodology used in the study to explore the determinants of international news coverage. The chapter provides a detailed explanation of the content analysis that will be utilized, the sample selection process, and units of analysis. Next, the chapter details and operationalizes the 19 independent variables to be used in the analysis. Finally, multivariate regression will be discussed as the measurement of the functional relationship between the independent variables and the dependent variable (coverage).

Chapter 4 reviews the results of the content analysis of the dependent variable. Following that, the chapter provides the results of the multivariate regression test.

Chapter 5, the discussion chapter, shows the overall findings from Chapter 4 and interprets their meaning. In an attempt to understand which variables were most influential on the amount of coverage nations received from the news media, the discussion relates the findings to the broader theoretical perspective and to previous research on the determinants of international news coverage. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the current study's limitations and their implications for future research.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

An important question in the study of news has been what makes an event or issue worthy of news coverage. With a plethora of daily content from which to select, news media editors and producers constantly have to evaluate the characteristics that make some news events and objects more newsworthy than others. In an attempt to better understand this complicated news selection process, communication researchers focus on the examination of the newsworthiness concept and the variables associated with it.

Research of newsworthiness and news factors is not limited to domestic news. For more than three decades, communication scholars have researched news media coverage of events from around the world (for example, Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Hester, 1973; Kariel & Rosenvall, 1984). This research has produced a number of studies that attempt to explain why some international events are considered to be more newsworthy than others. Research on the factors that influence the newsworthiness of international events is often referred to as research of the determinants of international news coverage (for example, Wu, 1998; Kim & Barnett, 1996).

International News on American Television

Since the early days of television, news communication researchers have investigated the role of international news in network television news programs. The emphasis on the television medium is of particular importance due to television's role as the key source of news in the United States (Larson, 1982). Larson's argument for the

dominance of television over newspapers as the main source of news is supported by a recent public opinion poll.

According to a 1999 survey conducted by the University of Connecticut, more Americans depend on television as a news source than any other mass medium; 65% of respondents named television as the source for most of their news to 21% for newspapers and 9% for radio (University of Connecticut, 2000).

The role of international news on overall network television news content has been an important area of study for mass communication researchers. Research findings consistently indicate that international news stories account for a significant percentage of broadcast news content. Larson & Hardy's (1977) analysis of news content from three network news programs revealed that international news accounted for 35% to 39% of news content. Larson's (1982) content analysis of more than 1,000 television news stories from 1972 to 1981 revealed that about 40% of the content dealt with international news. Whitney, Fritzler, Jones, Mazarella, & Rakow (1989) found that nearly 34% of all network television news content (between 1982 and 1984) was composed of international news. In a more recent study, Riffe & Budianto (2001) identified a decrease in the proportion between international and domestic news. Their content analysis revealed a decrease in coverage of international news across all three major networks.

Despite the differences in findings, most studies of international news content in network television news programs point to the importance of international news in network television news content.

A closer examination of international news coverage on U.S. network television news programs reveals that certain countries tend to receive more coverage than other

nations. A content analysis by Larson (1982) reveals that between 1972 and 1981, coverage of Western Europe accounted for 23.8% of international news references. The Middle East came in second at 22.7%, and Asia came in third with 21.8%. Latin America and Africa trailed far behind with 8.6% and 5.6%, respectively. His study also indicated that some nations received much more coverage than other nations. Larson's study reveals that between 1972 and 1981, stories about the USSR, Israel, Britain and South Vietnam dominated international news coverage on U.S. network television news. These nations might have received so much coverage due to the implications of the Vietnam War, the Cold War, and the ongoing Arab-Israeli conflicts that dominated the decade, as examined by Larson.

Clearly, some regions of the world and some nations in the world are considered to be more newsworthy to news media gatekeepers than others.

Gatekeeping

Research into the news selection process reveals its nature to be highly complex and multilayered. Communication scholars have been successful in identifying many variables that are associated with the newsworthiness of an event or a news object. Despite this, researchers have failed to identify a small set of key variables that could be used to predict coverage of events or news objects.

However, researchers have been successful in identifying a key paradigm for the study of the news selection process. This concept, which is argued by some to be a theory (see Shoemaker et al. 2001), analyzes the news selection process through the examination of news media editors and the forces that influence their news selection decisions and their work environment.

In its simplest form, gatekeeping can be defined as the process by which potential news messages are narrowed and shaped into the actual news that is transmitted in the news media (Shoemaker, Eichholz, Kim & Wrigley, 2001).

Gatekeeping is originally attributed to research by psychologist Kurt Lewin (1947). In his study, Lewin examined how “items” were selected and rejected around a dinner table. Lewin proposed a model that illustrated how food had to go through different “gates” before they reached the dinner table. A 1950 study by David Manning White applied Lewin’s concepts to the field of mass communication. In this study, White observed how a wire service editor selected and rejected different news items. White’s study revealed that news content had to pass through the “gates” of the editor before it could be news. He found that the news editor’s (“Mr. Gates”) personal beliefs and his knowledge of news routines were influential on the news selection process.

At the heart of gatekeeping research is the examination of the content selection process by newspaper and mass media editors. In its development as a key paradigm in the examination of the news selection process, research into gatekeeping has produced dozens of articles over the past few decades. While the examination of news factors and values is a key topic in gatekeeping research, several important studies have identified alternative variables that shape gatekeepers’ news selection decision making. For example, Shoemaker & Reese (1996) identified several key variables that shape the gatekeeping process: the personal views and roles of media workers, media routines, media organizations, external pressures, and ideology.

Some researchers found that an editor’s ideology influences the news selection process (for example, Soloski, 1989).

Observing more than 220 hours of news selection routines at a television station in Indianapolis, Berkowitz (1990) found that editors often rely on their instincts in determining the newsworthiness of events. He also found the news selection process to be a group decision-making process, a finding that represents a departure from the original study by White (1950).

This review of gatekeeping research clearly indicates that the news selection process cannot be fully explained solely by research of news values. As a complex and multilayered process, news selection is influenced by varied contingent conditions that influence which news content is deemed newsworthy and which is not news content is deemed not newsworthy. Research into news factors and values continues to be important in understanding some key variables in the news selection process.

Newsworthiness

Newsworthiness is a central concept of both international and domestic news selection processes. Over the years, several conceptual definitions have been presented for the term newsworthiness. Hulteng & Nelson (1971, p. 75) define newsworthiness as “whatever the editors decide is news.” Harris, Leiter, & Johnson (1977, p. 125) define a newsworthy event as “one that affects or changes social, economic, political, physical or other relationships.” Shoemaker et al. (1986) viewed the first definition as a pragmatic perspective and the second definition as a more philosophical perspective.

A current study by Shoemaker & Cohen (2002) are examining how journalists, public relations practitioners and news consumers define the term news (Shoemaker & Cohen). Leading a team of researchers from Australia, Chile, China, Germany, India, Israel, Jordan, Russia, South Africa, and the United States, Shoemaker and Cohen’s research attempts to find an underlying definition of the newsworthiness concept. The

findings of this massive study are not yet published or available. The term newsworthiness can be defined in many ways. Yet, it can be argued that at its most basic level the term newsworthy refers to the perceived salience of an event in the mind of the editorial decision maker (news media gatekeepers).

Newsworthiness: Operational Definition

Moving beyond providing a conceptual definition of the concept, researchers have utilized a variety of methodologies in an attempt to operationalize the newsworthiness concept. The majority of these studies used content analysis (as indicated by Hur, 1984). However, some scholars utilized such research techniques as surveys (Chang & Lee, 1992), in-depth interviews (Peterson, 1979, 1981), and a rhetorical approach (Hall, 1973).

One of the first and most influential studies concerning newsworthiness and its definition is the Galtung & Ruge (1965) study. In a content analysis of four Norwegian newspapers, Galtung & Ruge analyzed 1,262 news clips concerning crises in the Belgian Congo, Cuba, and Cyprus during the early 1960s. The authors judged these events and their coverage based on a self-identified series of factors that they associated with the newsworthiness of events:

- Frequency: the time span needed for the event to unfold itself and acquire meaning.
- Threshold and intensity of event: first an event has to go through a threshold, and its corresponding level of coverage will be determined by the intensity of event.
- Unambiguity: the less ambiguous an event is, the more likely it will receive coverage.
- Meaningfulness: familiarity and cultural proximity of the event to the audience.
- Consonance: the expectation or prediction of event.
- Unexpectedness: unexpectedness of event will increase its chances for coverage. The less expected, the more likely to get covered.

- Continuity: once an event has been labeled as news, it will continue to be perceived as news over time.
- Composition: the selection of a story which is based on the need to create a balance in news.
- Reference to elite nations: the predetermination of some nations as elite nations based on cultural, political, and economic factors. Such nations are more likely to receive coverage.
- Reference to elite people: celebrities and public figures.
- Reference to persons: the tendency to present events as actions of named persons rather than the other way around.
- Reference to something negative: assumes that negative news refers to the likelihood of coverage for negative events. Despite the fact that the study focused on the factors that influence newsworthiness of international events, it also served as a benchmark study for interpreting the news values of domestic news.

The status of the Galtung & Ruge (1965) study has been noted by several scholars.

Herbert (2000) noted that the factors identified by Galtung and Ruge are often cited as “prerequisites” in discussion of news values. Tunstall (1970, p. 20) argued that the study is likely “to become a classic social science answer to the question what is news?”

McQuail (1994) identified the Galtung & Ruge (1965) study as the most influential explanation of news values.

In a more recent study, Harcup & O’Neil (2001) revisited the news values examined by Galtung and Ruge. The authors’ content analysis of English newspapers included *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Tabloid Sun*, and *The Daily Mail*. The authors content analyzed 1,276 news articles and coded each one of these for the 10 news factors offered by Galtung and Ruge. The authors found that many of the stories analyzed could not be explained by the original study. Arguing for the need for a more “contemporary” taxonomy of news values, the authors presented an alternative set of news values. Harcup and O’Neil’s news values categories included 1) the power elite--stories

concerning powerful individuals, organizations, or institutions; 2) celebrity--stories concerning people who are already famous; 3) entertainment--stories concerning sex, show business, human interest, animals, an unfolding drama, or offering opportunities for humorous treatment, entertaining photographs, or witty headlines; 4) surprise--stories which have an element of surprise and/or contrast; 5) bad news--stories with negative overtones such as conflict or tragedy; 6) good news--stories with positive overtones such as rescues and cures; 7) magnitude--stories which are perceived as sufficiently significant either in the numbers of people involved or in potential impact; 8) relevance--stories about issues, groups, and nations perceived to be relevant to the audience; 9) follow-ups--stories about subjects already in the news; 10) newspaper agenda--stories which set or fit the news organization's own agenda.

Schulz (1982) also offered an alternative taxonomy of news values other than those of Galtung & Ruge (1965). Schultz identified six variable categories associated with the newsworthiness of events: 1) status (elite nation, elite institution, elite person); 2) valence (aggression, controversy, values, success); 3) relevance (consequence, concern); 4) identification (proximity, ethnocentrism, personalization, emotions); 5) consonance (theme, stereotype, predictability); and 6) dynamics (timeliness, uncertainty, and unexpectedness).

The contribution of all three of these studies is important to the understanding of news values. Each one of the studies presents a set of possible news factors that are likely associated with the newsworthiness of an event or of a news object. At the same time, none of these three studies can fully predict the complicated news selection process which involves the selection of content by news media gatekeepers. In Shoemaker et al.

(1986) discussion of Galtung and Ruge, the authors wrote: "Although such lists provide indicators of newsworthiness, they do not address the theoretical issue of explaining what underlying construct ties the indicators together into a meaningful newsworthiness package or of explaining why such content should be important to journalists and society" (p. 349). Responding to such criticism, recent scholars have moved beyond a mere taxonomy of news factors and toward a more systematic investigation of news factors. This is an attempt to provide a better operational definition of the newsworthiness concept. Curiously, many of these studies focused their analyses on international news rather than domestic news.

One possible explanation as to why researchers chose to focus their research on the newsworthiness concept in the context of international rather than domestic news might be attributed to the study by Shoemaker et al. (1986). The study and its implications will be discussed in the next section.

Investigating the International News Selection Process

The news selection process has historically been examined through domestic news. However, research of international news coverage and of the news factors that make an international event newsworthy is wide in scope. As noted by Wu (1998), research into the determinants of international news (news factors) has been widely investigated. Wu notes that 15 relevant studies were completed prior to 1980, 23 between 1981 and 1990, and 17 since 1991.

Much like those who investigate domestic news factors, those who study the determinants of international news were successful in identifying many variables that influence the news selection process. Researchers in both areas, however, are still unable to identify a few overriding variables used to predict the newsworthiness of events.

Determinants of International News Coverage

Decades of research into the international news selection process have yielded a rich body of literature that identifies many news factors (values) that are associated with an international event's newsworthiness. Research into the determinants of international news coverage has been traditionally divided along two theoretical approaches: the event-oriented approach and the contextual approach (Chang et al., 1987; Wu, 1998). Both approaches attempt to provide operational definitions of the newsworthiness concept.

The event-oriented approach investigates characteristics of individual events as possible variables that are associated with levels of coverage. Examples of possible event-oriented news factors are levels of conflict of a specific event, deviance, relevance to the United States, and threat to the United States. The contextual approach investigates the characteristics of the nations' international news objects. Examples of contextual news factors are a nation's population, gross national product, or cultural affinity. Studies of the determinants of international news coverage that used either the contextual and/or the event-oriented approach have been successful in identifying dozens of variables that are associated with the international news selection process.

Event-oriented Approach

The examination of event-oriented news factors can be traced to the Galtung & Ruge (1965) study. Among the 12 variables that the authors identified, some are considered to be event-oriented variables, for example, meaningfulness, unambiguity, unexpectedness, and predictability. Shoemaker et al. (1986) argued that such variables as those identified by Galtung & Ruge (1965) lack a theoretical underpinning and instead hypothesized and supported deviance as the main predictor of coverage. During the past two decades, three main event-oriented variables emerged as the key determinants of

international news coverage: 1) normative deviance, which was operationalized by Chang et al. (1987) as the extent to which an event would violate U.S. norms and was coded on a four point scale; 2) potential for social change deviance, which was operationalized by Chang et al. (1987) as the extent to which an event violated the status quo in the country in which it occurred and was coded on a four-point scale; and 3) relevance to the United States, which was operationalized by Chang et al. (1987) as the extent to which the United States is involved or relates to the event and was coded as a dichotomous variable.

Deviance

Shoemaker et al. (1986) identified deviance as the key predictor of international news coverage. The study identified three types of deviance variables: statistical deviance, normative deviance, and potential for social change deviance. The authors defined statistical deviance as “the extent to which the event is unusual, given the context of how common such events are in the world” (p. 358). The authors defined normative deviance as “the extent to which the event, if it had occurred in the U.S., would have broken U.S. norms” (p. 359). The authors defined potential for social change deviance as “the extent to which the event threatens the status quo in the country in which the event occurs” (p. 359). Their content analyses of the three television network news programs and *The New York Times* yielded interesting results. Using comparison of means, the authors found normative deviance ($t=2.4$, $p<.017$) and potential for social change deviance ($t=2.78$, $P<.006$) to be strong determinants of international news coverage.

Chang et al. (1987) supported these findings. Using a stepwise discriminant analysis, the researchers measured a series of independent variables and their association with coverage. They found both normative deviance ($b=.47$, $p<.009$) and potential for

social change deviance ($b=.50$, $p<.006$) to contribute significantly to distinguishing between covered and noncovered events (p. 410).

Shoemaker et al. (1991) provided additional evidence that potential for social change deviance and normative deviance are strong predictors of international news coverage. Their content analysis of *The New York Times* and ABC, CBS and NBC television network coverage of more than 300 international events between 1984 and 1985 and subsequent regression analysis provided some support to the association between normative and potential for social change deviance and levels of coverage. The regression results indicate both normative deviance (Std Beta=.75 when combined with the number of businesses for television) and potential for social change deviance (std Beta=.1.26 when combined with economic aid for *The New York Times*).

The three studies provide consistent support to the notion that both normative and potential for social change deviance are important factors in defining the newsworthiness of international events. However, recent replication of the Chang et al. (1987) study by Chang & Lee (2001) found some contradictory findings to the previous studies. The authors' replication revealed that the normative deviance that was the strongest discriminant ($b=.79$) in the original study turned out to be not as influential (in the current study). Their discriminant analysis yielded nonsignificant scores for the normative deviance variable ($b=.05$, $p<0.67$ for *The New York Times* and $b=-.22$, $p<.409$ for the television networks).

Based on the empirical evidence supporting a strong association between coverage and deviance, the current study will make the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 1: A nation's level of deviance is positively associated with the amount of coverage it receives from U.S. television news programs.

Relevance to the United States

One key event-oriented variable found to be a strong determinant of international news coverage has been relevance to the United States. The main assumption behind this variable is that events that are of relevance to the United States (home nation) are more likely to be newsworthy to news media editors than those events that are not relevant to the United States (Chang & Lee, 1992).

Several key studies have examined the association between relevance to the United States and the degree of coverage an event received. Through a content analysis of three Israeli newspapers and one American newspaper, Hicks & Gordon (1974) found that ethnocentrism (operationalized by U.S. involvement in the event) was a major influence on coverage. In a content analysis of ABC, CBS and NBC television networks between 1972 and 1981, Larson (1984, p. 54) found that nearly 50% of foreign news involves the United States and at least one other nation.

Chang et al.'s (1987) study of the three television networks and *The New York Times* applied discriminant analysis and found relevance to the United States to be a key predictor of coverage in both the newspaper ($b = -.56, p < .005$) and in television ($b = -.60, p < .027$).

In a survey of 279 newspaper editors, Chang & Lee (1992) found a threat to the United States and U.S. involvement to be key variables that influence newspaper editors' news selection process. According to the survey, 59.4% of editors reported that a threat to the United States was very important in their selection of foreign news. Approximately

43% of the editors reported that U.S. involvement in a story was very important to their selection of the story.

In their replication of the Chang et al. (1987) study, Chang & Lee (2001) found relevance to the United States (operationalized by threat to the United States and nonthreat to the United States) to be the strongest predictor of coverage. Their discriminant analysis yielded significant results for the threat to the U.S. variable ($b=.40$, $p<.0005$ for newspapers and $b=.04$, $p<.000$ for television).

Based on the previously discussed literature, the current study will make the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 2: A nation's relevance to the United States is positively associated with the amount of coverage it will receive from U.S. television news programs.

Limitations of the Event-oriented Approach

Research on the determinants of international news coverage, based on the event-oriented approach, has been successful in identifying key variables that may help explain international news coverage. In contrast, the contextual approach has identified dozens of possible determinants. However the event-oriented approach appears to have successfully narrowed down and empirically support a few key variables.

The use of the event-oriented approach, as identified by the key news factors of international news coverage may be undermined by some limitations as well. The event-oriented approach to news coverage (both domestic and international) has been criticized by scholars who question the validity of the variables used. Staab (1990) argued that event-oriented variables (news factors) are mostly subjective and are only valid within a certain society at a certain time. An examination of the operational definition offered by Shoemaker et al. (1986) to the term potential for social change deviance might point to

some merit in Staab's criticism. The authors defined potential for social change as the "the extent to which the event threatens the status quo in the country in which the event occurs" (p. 359). An evaluation of the potential for social change that any event around the world might have on that nation's status quo requires the researcher to have some expertise in the politics, society, economy, culture, history, and environment of a nation. Most communication scholars do not hold such an expertise. Could the average American communication scholar really evaluate how any event might change the status quo in such nations as Azerbaijan, Malawi, or Papua New Guinea?

The current study will operationalize all its news value variables using the contextual rather than the event-oriented approach. The study will present alternative operational definitions for deviance and relevance to the United States from that of the Chang et al. (1987) and the Shoemaker et al. (1991) studies. Whereas these studies based coding of these variables on a seemingly subjective criterion, the current study will base coding of these variables on highly objective secondary data from government and academic sources. For example, the study will measure relevance to the United States in terms of economic and military interaction between nations and by geographic proximity. These measurements will be based on official government data and will offer a more precise measurement than utilized in previous event-oriented research.

Contextual Approach

The basic assumption behind the contextual approach to the study of the determinants of international news coverage is that the newsworthiness of an international event is influenced by the characteristics of the nation where the event occurred. Thus a car bombing in the capital of one nation might be perceived as more newsworthy than the same event that occurred in another nation.

During the last 30 years, dozens of studies have examined the possible contextual determinants of international news coverage. A review of this literature identifies four main contextual categories of possible determinants of international news coverage: geographic variables, cultural affinity variables, hierarchy of nation variables, and international interaction variables.

Geography

One key variable that has consistently been found to be a strong determinant of international news coverage is geography, more specifically, geographic proximity between the nation in which an event occurs and the nation in which the event is covered. It would be logical that media consumers would be more interested in events that occur close to them than those that occur far away. Galtung & Ruge (1965) identified proximity as one of the key variables of newsworthiness.

Van Belle's (2000) study of television network and *The New York Times's* coverage of natural disasters provided some evidence concerning the impact that geographic proximity has on coverage of these events. His regression analysis indicated that distance is by far the most significant predictor of international event coverage by network television ($b=.02$, $p<.0001$) and in *The New York Times* ($b=-.0236$, $p<.001$). Chang et al. (1987) found geographic distance to be a powerful predictor of coverage in their discriminant analysis ($b=.47$, $p<.009$ for *The New York Times* and $b=.36$, $p<.042$ for television networks). Chang & Lee's (2001) replication of the previous study found consistent findings as their discriminant analysis yielded significant results for geographic proximity ($b=-.01$, $p<.036$ for television networks). Wu (1998) examined how 13 U.S. newspapers covered news from Mexico and Canada. The author found significant correlations between distance and coverage ($r=.4762$, $p<.05$).

Cultural Affinity

Cultural affinity has been found to be a strong determinant of international news coverage in several key studies. The important study that identifies cultural affinity as a key determinant of international news coverage is Hester (1973). The study proposed a research design for studying the relationship between cultural affinity and coverage. However, Hester left the actual measurements for future research. Unfortunately, a review of the literature indicates that the majority of variables suggested by Hester has not been measured frequently against coverage. Rather, many studies identified different variables than those of Hester's that are based on his cultural affinity hypothesis. For example, Shoemaker et al. (1991) introduced ethnic similarity as one variable under their cultural significance variable category.

The main assumption in Hester's proposal is that news media gatekeepers are more likely to view an international event as newsworthy if the event occurred in a nation that is culturally similar and familiar to the United States.

One possible theoretical explanation to this phenomena might be found in social identity theory. This theory posits that individuals conceptualize their self-concept based on their group membership (Tajfel, 1978). The theory further identifies how people evaluate their own membership groups through in-group/out-group comparisons (Tajfel, 1978; Turner, 1975). Social identity theory might be useful in explaining how Americans might make sense of international events by viewing them in terms of in-group/out-groups. Naturally, people take more interest in their in-group than in their out-groups. Nations with whom the United States shares a high cultural affinity might be considered an in-group nation (for example, England). A nation with whom the United States shared

a low cultural affinity (for example, Laos) might be considered an out-group and thus might be viewed as less newsworthy by American viewers.

A review of the relevant literature identifies several key variables as important cultural affinity determinants of international news coverage.

Language is one variable of cultural affinity that has been found to be associated with international news coverage (Chang et al. 1987; Dupree, 1971; Hester, 1973; Kariel & Rosenvall, 1984). Events that occur in English-speaking nations such as England are more likely to receive coverage than similar events that occur in nations that do not share a common language with the United States.

Migration between nations has also been identified as an important cultural affinity variable (Hester, 1973). It is likely that Americans who descend from a large immigrant group (for example Italians and Irish) would be interested in news from the nation from which they or their families originated.

In addition to language and migration, Hester (1973) also identified travel between nations as a variable for the measurement of cultural affinity between nations. It is likely that Americans will consider a culture more familiar if many of them have traveled to that nation. After all, when visiting another country, Americans are likely to become familiar with that nation's culture, language, people, and cuisine. In addition, Americans are more likely to consider a culture to be familiar if they have encountered tourists who visit the United States from that nation. This assumption is tested and proved significant in Van Belle (2000). His study found that the number of tourists in the nation in which a natural disaster occurs is associated with the amount of coverage that major disasters receive in *The New York Times* ($b=8.780$, $p<0.001$).

Based on the findings of the previously mentioned scholarship, the current study predicts an association between a nation's cultural affinity with the United States and the amount of coverage that nation receives from U.S. television news programs:

Hypothesis 3: A nation's cultural affinity with the United States is positively associated with coverage of that nation by U.S. television news programs.

Religious Affinity: Introduction of a New Variable

Missing from the great body of literature produced from more than 50 years of international news coverage research is an in-depth examination of religious variables as possible determinants of news coverage. Religion and culture are two social constructs that are closely related to one another. Since cultural affinity has been a strong determinant of foreign news coverage, it is likely that religious affinity will also serve as a determinant.

Many scholars of anthropology, sociology, and religious studies have supported the close relationship between religion and culture. Sociologist Emile Durkheim identified the social component of religion. Durkheim viewed religion as an important component in the social treasury that is transmitted from one generation to another (Durkheim, 1915). Durkheim's approach views religion not in terms of beliefs but in terms of the functional purpose of religion within cultures.

Anthropologist Clifford Geertz argued for a social scientific approach to the study of religion that focuses on the analysis of religious and cultural phenomena and symbolism (Geertz in Banton, 1966). Geertz viewed religion as a cultural system which he defined as:

A system of symbols which acts to establish powerful, pervasive, and longlasting moods and motivations in men by formulating conceptions of a general order of

existence and clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic. (Geertz, 1973, p. 90)

Sociologist Ann Swidler (1986) argued that culture serves as a tool kit of symbols, stories, rituals, and world views. Tillich (1989, p. 29) posited that men express themselves through religious and cultural meaning systems.

The nature of the relationship between religion and culture has been the subject of vast research in the fields of anthropology, religious studies, and sociology of religion. Although scholars do not all agree on one distinct definition of the relationship between religion and culture, most scholars identify a strong association between the two (for example, Elazar, 1966).

A review of relevant literature indicates that religious affinity has sparsely been used as a variable of cultural affinity. Shoemaker et al. (1991) included a variable called percentage of Christians under its cultural significance. However the variable did not prove to be significant in their regression analysis (Std. Beta = -.01 for *The New York Times* and Std. Beta = -.04 for the television networks).

The current study identifies the need to examine religious affinity as a determinant of international news coverage. Based on the close relationship between religion and culture and based on previous research that indicates that cultural affinity is a strong determinant of international news coverage, the current study will make the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 4: A nation's religious affinity with the United States is positively associated with coverage of that nation by U.S. television news programs.

Hierarchy of a Nation

One variable group, which has been argued by scholars to be a key determinant to international news coverage, is a nation's location in the hierarchy of nations (Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Kim & Barnett, 1996; Galtung, 1971). The key assumption here is that nations of economic, political, and military strength are more likely to receive news coverage than those nations that are not considered as powerful. An event that occurred in Russia, England, or China, for example, is more likely to be considered as newsworthy than the same event happening in nations such as Slovakia, Armenia, or Senegal. A nation's position in the hierarchy of nations has been found to be a strong determinant of news coverage.

Several studies (Kim & Barnett, 1996; Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Gans, 1979) have found that elite nations dominate international news coverage. Ostgaard (1965) argued that elite nations have better developed communication infrastructures, therefore making it easier to gather and transmit information from these countries. Galtung (1971) also argued that the inequality of international information exchange was due to power relationships between the center and peripheral countries.

A nation's location in the hierarchy of nations has been operationalized in different ways by different communication scholars. One of the first studies to introduce the hierarchy of nations concept and its measurement to international news research was Hester (1974). Hester argued that a nation's position in the hierarchy of nations included its geographic size, its population, its economic development, and its length of existence as a sovereign nation.

More recent literature concerning international news coverage has focused on a nation's location within the world system (Chang, 1998). This concept is closely related

to the hierarchy of nations and is based in large part on the world system theory developed by Wallerstein (1974). Wallerstein's world system theory was built around a capitalist perspective and it aimed to bring an understanding of why the effects of modernization differed across regions based on the location of nations in the world system. Based primarily on gross national product and international trade, Wallerstein suggested that the world system of nations was divided into three chief categories of nations: core, peripheral and semi-peripheral.

Chang (1998) proposed incorporating the world system theory as a theoretical framework for the study of the determinants of international news coverage. In his study, Chang (1998) found that Western industrialized nations form a "core zone" of a world news system and act as filters through which international news must pass. Chang's analysis of the coverage of the World Trade Organization meeting in 1996 by Reuters revealed that core nations overwhelmingly were over-covered by the wire service in relation to peripheral nations.

Chang, Lau, & Xiaoming (2000) found that core nations dominated coverage of international events and that one core country covered in international news would be equal to two semi-peripheral counties or about seven peripheral nations.

In a recent study, Wanta & Golan (2001) found that core nations will often receive coverage while peripheral and semi-peripheral nations may receive coverage, depending on their level of international interaction and attributes. Their study of international elections, held between January 1, 1998 and May 1, 2000, found that out of 138 elections that took place during that period, only 8 elections were covered by CNN, CBS, NBC and ABC television networks. Using a path analysis, they found that core nations are very

likely to receive coverage ($b=.239$, $p = .005$), while those countries with strong ties to core nations are also likely to receive coverage ($b=.491$, $p = .000$).

Communication researchers use both the hierarchy of nations and the location within the world system concepts for research of the determinants of international news coverage. In both cases, researchers find consistent support for the notion that a nation's position as a powerful nation (that is, core nation) may make it newsworthy to news media gatekeepers.

Hypothesis 5: A nation's position in the hierarchy of nations is positively associated with its coverage in the U.S. television news programs.

Identifying the Problem

Research into the determinants of international news coverage identifies numerous variables that are associated with the amount of coverage an international event/nation receives from news media gatekeepers. Based on either event-oriented or the contextual approach, research that examines what makes an international story newsworthy has been an important field of study for several decades.

The current review of the existing literature in the field reveals a major limitation in the area of research. Although many studies identify the different determinants of international news coverage, only a few have synthesized these variables into a systematic measurement that compares how these different variables influence news coverage. Such studies include Chang et al. (1987), Shoemaker et al. (1991), and Chang & Lee (2001).

Wu (1998) identified the same limitations. His study provided a comprehensive literature review of research into the news factors of international news coverage and argued that there is a need for "a systematic and across the board examination of the

existing variables and perhaps new ones” (Wu, 1998, p. 508). The current study recognizes the problem identified by Wu and aims to provide a systematic and across-the-board examination of existing variables, as well as several new variables.

Driven by a similar concerns, several studies have incorporated multivariate measurements that compare the influence of the different recognized determinants of international news on coverage. Chang et al. (1987) used a discriminant analysis to compare how seven previously researched variables were associated with international news coverage. The variables in the study included: press freedom, language affinity, economic systems, relevance to the United States, and the normative and potential for social change deviance. The study was later replicated by Chang and Lee (2001) who incorporated 10 previously researched variables and their association with international news coverage: threat of event to the United States, nonthreatening events, national change deviance, loss of lives or property, normative deviance, press freedom, geographic proximity, trade relations, economic development, and language affinity.

One of the most comprehensive examinations of the determinants of international news coverage was provided by Shoemaker et al. (1991). This study was one of the first to incorporate multivariate regression analysis in an examination of more than two dozen variables and their association with international news coverage. The next section will highlight some of the main findings of this relevant study by Shoemaker et al. (1991), as well as a discussion of some of the limitations associated with the study. Concluding the chapter, the contribution of the current study, which was based on its similarities and differences from the Shoemaker et al. (1991), will be discussed.

Shoemaker, Danielian, & Brendlinger (1991)

The importance of the Shoemaker et al. (1991) study is found in the scope of its investigation into the news factors of international news coverage. The researchers argue that the purpose of their study is to: “Continue the investigation of the newsworthiness concept by elaborating some theoretical predictors of how prominently U.S. news media cover international events” (p. 781).

The dependent variable was measured in terms of the prominence of event coverage by CBS, ABC and NBC television news programs and by *The New York Times*. Prominence was measured in terms of the sum of the products of stories’ positions within a newscast times their length. Newspaper prominence was measured by the sum of articles about an event times their size in square inches. The content analysis was based on Keesing’s Contemporary Archives and included a sample of nearly 400 events from each of the 1984 and 1985 Keesing’s Indexes.

Five main variable categories represent the main news factors of international news coverage based on previous research. These variable categories include:

- Communication constraints within a country (proximity to United States, English spoken, literacy, newspaper copies per population, television sets per population, radio sets per population)
- Cultural significance of event country to the United States (percentage of Christians and ethnic ties to the United States)
- Political significance of the event to the United States (economic aid from the United States, military aid from United States, presence of U.S. military, and number of shared military alliances with the United States)
- Economic significance of the event to the United States (U.S. import and exports to country, number of U.S. businesses in the country, number of U.S. business investments in nation, and gross domestic product of nation)
- Event characteristics (U.S. involvement in event, normative and potential for social change deviance).

As indicated in the study's results section, of the 355 events sampled, only 28% were covered by *The New York Times* while 12% were covered by the combined three network news programs. Using a hierarchical regression analysis, the study identified the number of U.S. businesses in the event country and normative deviance to be the most important variables in predicting television coverage (Std beta= .75 for television networks). Social change deviance and U.S. economic aid to the event country were identified as the most important variables in predicting newspaper coverage (Std. Beta= .1.26). Shoemaker et al. (1991) summarized their findings by arguing that events that are deviant and have economic or political significance to the United States are most likely to be identified as newsworthy by U.S. elite media.

The current study's recognition of the importance of the Shoemaker et al. (1991) study is based on two main points. The first is that the study is one of the first to incorporate the majority of variables previously recognized as important news factors of international news coverage in one study. The second point is that the study is one of the first to employ multivariate measurements (specifically multivariate regression) in the examination of the determinants of international news coverage.

Limitations of the Study

In addition to the many merits of the study, the current study also recognizes several limitations of the Shoemaker et al. (1991). One limitation has to do with the unit of analysis. The unit of analysis of the study was the event. A sample of 355 events was selected out of which the majority did not receive coverage. Although the study was successful in explaining what factors influenced coverage of an event, it failed to explain what factors influence noncoverage.

An additional limitation of the study dealt with the coding of the potential for social change, normative deviance, and U.S. involvement in the event. Unlike the other 17 variables that were all based on measurable data (for example, imports from country), normative deviance, potential for social change deviance, and U.S. involvement were based on somewhat subjective coding, the kind that was brought into question by Staab (1990). The study's main finding argued that normative and potential for social change deviance were among the most significant news factors of international news coverage. Future studies should consider the limitations when coding these variables.

Another limitation of the Shoemaker et al. (1991) study may be identified as the categorization of independent variables. The researchers classified 20 variables under 5 general categories. This classification was based largely on common sense. For example, the amount of U.S. exports to an event country is logically placed under the economic significance of the event country to the United States category. Yet such "common sense" classifications of variables are likely to result in problems of multicollinearity. It is likely that many variables from either the different or same categories in fact measure the same phenomena. If so, the coefficients may understate the contribution of key predictors of intentional news coverage.

A final limitation of the Shoemaker et al. (1991) study was the absence of the CNN television network from its sample. By 1991, CNN was considered by many to be the leading television network in coverage of international news. This status was bolstered in part by CNN's coverage of the Gulf War. The inclusion of CNN in the samples of studies of the news factors of international news coverage seems necessary given its prominence in international news coverage.

Current Study

The current study will employ a content analysis and a multivariate regression test in order to measure the association between country variables and international news coverage. By addressing some of the limitations of the Shoemaker et al. (1991) study, the current study will attempt to provide further knowledge concerning the international news selection process.

The methodology chapter of the current study (see Chapter 3) will explain how the researcher hopes to address some of the limitations.

Following a thorough review of the literature, the current study will attempt to test the following hypotheses regarding country characteristics and coverage by U.S. television network news programs:

Hypothesis 1: A nation's level of deviance is positively associated with the amount of coverage it receives from U.S. television news programs.

Hypothesis 2: A nation's relevance to the United States is positively associated with the amount of coverage it will receive from U.S. television news programs.

Hypothesis 3: Cultural affinity of a nation with the United States is positively associated with coverage of that nation by U.S. television news programs.

Hypothesis 4: A nation's religious affinity with the United States is positively associated with coverage of that nation by U.S. television news programs.

Hypothesis 5: A nation's position in the hierarchy of nations is positively associated with its coverage in the U.S. television news programs.

CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY

The current study investigates the factors associated with newsworthiness. A concept is operationalized by the amount of coverage that nations receive from U.S. television news programs. This study is based largely on the contextual approach. The current chapter provides a detailed account of the research design of the study. This design includes a content analysis of the dependent variable and a multivariate regression analysis to discern the impact of hypothesized factors. As noted by Kim & Barnett (1996), content analysis is the most utilized methodology in research on international news coverage.

Basic Design

The sample for the current study is drawn from evening news programs from the NBC, ABC and CBS television networks. These three television networks have been the focus of similar content analysis and are considered by many scholars to be the leading news source for many Americans (see Shoemaker et al. 1991; Chang & Lee, 2001; Chang et al., 1987; and Larson, 1984).

Unlike Shoemaker et al. (1991), the current study will also include the CNN network in its sample. America's first twenty-four hour news channel, CNN, reached four out of five U.S. cable homes and nearly 40% of all U.S. television homes by 1985 (Flournoy and Stewart, 1997). Exposure to CNN programming has not been limited to the United States; CNN has broadcast to more than 80 nations since 1990 and more than

140 nations by 1992 (Flournoy & Stewart, 1997). Viewed by people around the world, CNN has been successful in redefining the very nature of international news coverage.

Following its coverage of the Gulf War, CNN established itself as an important television network for the broadcast of international news. Coverage of international events by CNN played an important role in the shaping of U.S. public opinion and U.S. foreign policy (Piers, 2002). Recent studies indicate that CNN's coverage of international news is often more extensive than those of the big three networks (ABC, CBS, and NBC). For example, Golan & Wanta's (2003) study of international election coverage in U.S. network television news programs revealed that CNN covered almost twice as many international elections as the other three network news programs.

The sample includes every news program aired on CNN, ABC, CBS and NBC during 1999--1,300 in all (ABC, 329; CBS, 308; NBC, 318; and CNN, 345). The analysis includes 189 nations that are current members of the United Nations. In addition, the current study will also include the recently created Palestinian Authority. While this political entity does not represent a sovereign nation, it does govern more than 3 million people and therefore should not be excluded arbitrarily from the current study. It should be noted that the United States is not included in the analysis, as the study examines only international news and not domestic news.

The selection of 1999 as the sample year was based on the need to include the most recent year, while searching for a year that might be considered to be a typical year of coverage that is much like previous years. The year 2001 could not be selected because the September 11 terrorist attack dominated all news coverage during the second half of that year. The year 2000 was also not selected because the 2000 U.S. presidential

elections dominated all coverage, and therefore was not representative of most typical coverage periods. Thus, 1999 was the best choice.

The content analysis focused specifically on the four networks' 6:30 pm evening news program. Programs were analyzed through the Vanderbilt News Abstracts Archive (2000). Each broadcast was analyzed for country mentions in each of its news stories (as displayed in archive abstracts). This un-weighted sample did not account for story length as measured in minutes or seconds. The failure of the current study to account for story length is a limitation in the current research.

Each news story was coded for the identity of the nations that were the main subjects of the story. When aggregated, this produced for each country a frequency representing the overall amount of coverage the nation received during 1999. For example, a story about a car bombing in Jerusalem was coded as one mention for Israel. If a story focused on more than one nation, it was double-coded. A story about peace talks between India and Pakistan, for example, was coded for mentions of both India and Pakistan. It ought to be noted that a nation was not coded unless it was the main subject of the news story. A story that mentioned U.S. Air force strikes on Iraq, for example, might mention that the planes flew out of a base in Turkey. Since Iraq was the main news object in the story and the mention of Turkey was incidental, only the prior country was coded.

Upon the completion of the content analysis of the dependent variable, a frequency was run to determine how many stories included each one of the nations as their main subject. The number that each nation received at the end of the content analysis represents the total amount of coverage it received from the different television network

news programs during the year 1999. Since previous research indicated that CNN coverage of world events is much more extensive than that of the three other networks (for example, Golan & Wanta, 2003), a separate combined score will be presented for the aggregate country coverage on the three networks and a separate score will be presented for the nation's coverage on CNN. The aggregate frequency scores for each country are presented in the results section.

Subsequent to the completion of the content analysis, a second coder coded 10% of the stories in order to measure the reliability of the measurement. The following intercoder reliability scores were derived using the Holsti (1969) method: ABC, .91; CBS, .89; NBC, .93; and CNN, .86. This indicates a high degree of inter-coder reliability suggesting that all coders performed the content analysis coding in a consistent and reliable manner.

Independent Variables: Country Characteristics

Each country was analyzed for 19 different variables. The main criterion for the inclusion of a variable in this study was inclusion in at least two previous studies that related directly to international news coverage. The only exceptions to this rule are the religious affinity variables and the variables in the "deviance" category. The current study is one of the first to introduce religious affinity as a possible determinant of international news coverage. The deviance variables are based on a different conceptualization of deviance that prevails in the literature. Because the current study treats deviance differently than most previous studies, I developed a unique set of predictors appropriate to that conceptualization.

Deviance

As mentioned in the literature review and as argued by the Shoemaker et al. (1986), Chang et al. (1987) and Shoemaker et al. (1991) studies, deviance is an important variable in the prediction of international news coverage. The current study recognizes the importance of this deviance variable, yet has identified some methodological limitations in the manner in which the deviance variables were coded in these previous studies (see Chapter 2).

Unlike the three previous studies that coded deviance based on largely subjective measurements, the current study coded deviance on secondary data that were collected and analyzed by international relations experts. One additional difference between the original three deviance studies and the current study is the unit of analysis. While the first three studies coded individual events/news stories for deviance based on event-oriented traits, the current study focuses on the individual nation as its unit of analysis and attempts to rank the nation on that dimension. It is not possible to implement the original deviance coding methodology in the current study because individual nations cannot be directly coded for either normative or potential for social change deviance.

The current study conceptualizes deviance as economic, military, political, and social instability. This coding was based on the 2000 international conflict report published by the National Defense Council Foundation (NDFC, 2000), a Virginia-based think tank that specializes in research on national defense and foreign affairs. Each year the NDFC publishes a report that measures conflict and instability around the world. Four major indices are presented in these reports. They are based on data, such as the infant mortality rate, regime stability, income distribution, and the role of the military in politics. The result is a rating of countries from 0 to 100 for stability, with 100 being the

most conflict-prone states. Each nation in the current study was coded on this scale of 0 to 100 for the instability variable. As the four scales were highly correlated, I created a composite variable composed of the military, economic, political, and social instability ratings of the nation, as presented in the National Defense Council Foundation publication. Naturally, nations that rank high on these four measures had both substantially higher levels of normative and potential for social change deviance than those nations that ranked lower on these measures.

I recognize the limitations of the NDFC index scores.¹ The data are gathered by a think tank with a political affiliation rather than by an academic or a governmental source. Nevertheless, these data are the best available country-based measures of economic, political, military, and social instability. Future studies would benefit from using similar country-based data that are gathered by an academic source.

Concerns over the validity of the NDFC measures can be addressed by comparing nation instability ratings with knowledge of events that occurred in the nation during 1999. For example, Afghanistan ranked number one in the overall instability index, based on the NDFC index in 1999. As Afghanistan was going through a civil war, was ruled by the Taliban regime, and hosted terrorist leader Osama Bin Laden the ranking seems eminently suitable. At the same time, Luxemburg rated at the bottom of the instability list, and had no major events that might have destabilized the small nation during 1999.

¹ While NDFC annual reports provide strong measurements of international conflict, the Correlates of War (COW) database might be a more appropriate source of data for measuring world conflict. The COW database is one of the most widely used databases in the study of international relations, and it is based on a University of Michigan research project. Unfortunately, COW datasets were not available for the year 1999 during the time the current study was composed.

Relevance to the United States

Previous studies of the determinants of international news coverage are that nations (or events) that are of relevance to the United States are more likely to receive coverage than those that are not relevant. As a matter of fact, relevance to the United States was recognized by several studies to be one of the strongest determinants of international news coverage (Shoemaker et al. 1991; Chang & Lee, 2001; Chang, et al. 1987). The following set of variables will be used to measure the relevance of a country to the United States. The majority of these variables will measure the level of international economic and military interaction between the nation and the United States.

Trade with the United States

Events around the world might be perceived as more relevant to the United States if the home nation is an active trade partner with the United States. The exchange of goods and services between nations has been widely used by scholars to indicate relevance to the United States (for example, Shoemaker et al., 1991; Chang & Lee, 2001). The trade variable will represent the sum of imports from the United States and exports to the United States by the country. The data are derived from the International Trade Administration (1999). All figures represent the total amount of overall trade between the nation and the United States in millions of dollars.

Geographic Distance

Logically, events that occur close to the United States might be considered to be more relevant to the United States than those events that occur far away. For example, a nuclear disaster in Mexico will likely be considered more relevant to the United States than the same event in Scandinavia. Previous studies have found that geographic distance from the United States is associated with the amount of coverage a nation

receives from the U.S. news media (Chang et al., 1987; Shoemaker et al., 1991; Chang & Lee, 1992). The current study will code geographic distance from the United States in the exact same manner as the Shoemaker et al. (1991) study based on data from Fitzpatrick & Modlin (1986). Their data represent the geographical distance from the nation's capital to Washington DC.

U.S. Foreign Aid

In their 1991 study, Shoemaker et al. measured the political relevance of events to the United States based in part on the amount of economic and military aid a nation receives from the United States. The same variable was included in a recent study of international election coverage by Wanta & Golan (2002). Logically, a nation that receives large sums of aid from the United States is more likely to be identified as relevant than nations that do not receive aid. The variable is based on the total amount of military and economic aid that the nation received from the United States during 1999 in thousands of dollars. Data were obtained from the U.S. Census Bureau, 1999.

U.S. Private Investment in a Nation

In his 1974 study, Hester suggested that the amount of business investment nations have in one another can be used to measure economic relationship. In 1991, Shoemaker et al. used the amount of U.S. business investment in a nation as a measure of the economic significance (relevance) of an event to the United States. Logically, nations in which U.S. companies are heavily invested might be considered to be more relevant than nations that do not hold US investments. Following Shoemaker et al. (1991), I drew the data from the Bureau of Economic Analysis (1999). Each country will be coded for the total amount of dollars (in thousands) that U.S. residents invested in the nation.

Cultural Affinity

In his 1974 study, Hester proposed incorporating cultural affinity variables in research of international news flow and coverage. The argument was largely based on the assumption that people would be more interested in news that came from nations that are culturally similar to their own than those that are not culturally similar. Hester's approach has been realized in several important studies on international news coverage. Both Chang et al. (1987) and Shoemaker et al. (1991) included several cultural affinity variables in their measurements of international news coverage. This section details the cultural affinity variables to be included in the current study.

Travel from the United States to a Nation

As argued by Hester (1974), travel between nations might be associated with the cultural affinity between the nations. Logically, travel to foreign nations would expose Americans to foreign cultures. Nations to which Americans often travel (for example, Mexico) are likely to be more culturally familiar to Americans than those nations that they rarely visit. As Van Belle (2000), argues, the greater the travel to a nation from the United States, the more likely the nation will receive coverage from U.S. news media.

The travel variable is based on statistical data from the Office of Travel and Tourism Industries (1999), part of the U.S. Department of Commerce. The variable represents the number of Americans who traveled to the nation during 1999.

Migration

Historically, the United States has always been a nation of immigrants. The American melting pot represents the emergence of one common culture that is influenced by many other cultures. More recently, scholars replaced the melting pot paradigm with the metaphor of a salad bowl; a culture that allows all ethnic groups to maintain their own

cultural identity while belonging to the distinct American culture (D'Innocenzo & Sirefman, 1992). Composed of a people who share many different cultures and background, the United States and the American culture are deeply influenced by those who migrated here. As suggested by Hester (1974), migration could be a variable that is associated with cultural affinity between nations. Logically, a nation from which many Americans descended will share many cultural similarities to the United States, and it will likely to be more familiar and more of interest to the American people than a nation from which few Americans descended. Shoemaker et al. (1991) incorporated migration as a part of its cultural significance category.

The current study measures migration as the percentage of Americans with ethnic ties to the nation. The migration variable will be based on data from the Migration Policy Institute (MPI), data supplied originally by the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the U.S. Census Bureau. Nations will be coded for the number of Americans who were born in that country (in thousands).

Press Freedom

One of the cultural foundations of the United States is commitment to individual freedom and liberties. In the United States, basic freedoms, such as the freedom of speech and freedom of press, are not only a right but also a cultural value (Rokeach, 1974; McCloskey & Brill, 1983). Logically, nations that share a commitment to the freedom of its citizens (for example, England) will be more culturally similar to the United States than nations who deny their citizens basic freedoms (for example, Iran).

Press freedom was included as a variable in several key studies regarding international news coverage. Van Belle (2000) measured press freedom based on a dichotomous variable (free/not free). Chang et al. (1987) based their coding of press

freedom on a study by Sussman (1980) and coded press freedom in nations as free, partly free, and not free.

The current study will base its coding of press freedom on data from the Freedom House (1999). The Freedom House survey is used to measure press freedom around the world by the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the U.S. Agency for International Development. Coding will be based on the 2000 press freedom survey and will reflect press freedom in the nation during 1999. Each nation will be coded with a score 0 to 100. A score of 100 (for example, Afghanistan) indicates complete absence of press freedom, and a score of 5 (for example, Norway) indicates large scale press freedom.

Religious Affinity

Cultural affinity has been supported by research as a strong determinant of international news coverage (Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Hester, 1973; Kim & Barnett, 1996). As argued in the literature review, religion and culture share many similarities and are interdependent in many ways. The current study is one of the first to introduce and test the religious affinity variable as a separate determinant of cultural affinity in terms of international news coverage. The following variables make up the religious affinity measures. Since rarely used in research of international news coverage, many religious affinity variables were not previously tested.

Religious Composition

According to the World Christian Encyclopedia (2001), 84.7% of Americans report themselves as Christians. Although the United States protects religious freedom in the First Amendment of the Constitution, American culture is highly influenced by Judeo-

Christian values. Nations that largely consist of Christians may share a higher level of cultural affinity with the United States than nations that are not Christian.

In their 1991 study, Shoemaker et al. defined religious similarity as the percentage of the event country's (country in which a news event occurs) population that has formal or informal ties to a Christian religious faith. The authors coded the variable based on the raw percentage of the event country's population that is Christian.

Consistent with the Shoemaker et al. (1991) study, I will measure religious composition as the percentage of Christians in a nation. The variable will be based on data from the CIA World Factbook (1999).

In addition to the percentage of Christians in each nation, the current study will also code the percentage of Muslims in each country. The inclusion of the percentage of the Muslims variable in the analysis will allow for a measure of a lack of religious affinity with the United States (roughly 2% of Americans identify themselves as Muslims, according to www.adherents.com). Coding of the Muslim variable will reflect the percentage of Muslims in each case and will not differentiate between the different denominations of the Muslim faith. Coding will be based on data from the CIA World Factbook (1999).

Religious Diversity

According to data from the CIA World Factbook (1999), the United States has some diversity in its religious composition: 84% Christians; 2% Jewish; 2% Muslim; 10% none. It is possible that cultures that are composed of a diverse religious makeup will be more similar to one another than nations that are not based on the need for religious tolerance, diversity, and coexistence. Thus, a nation such as the United States would be coded with a religious diversity score of 16 representing the percentage of its

people who do not fall into the predominant religious faith (Christian). The United States' score of 16 might seem low at first. Yet, when compared to religious diversity scores of such countries as Afghanistan (score of 0), Bahrain (score of 0), Mauritania (score of 1) and Nauru (score of 1), the score of 16 represents a relatively high degree of religious diversity.

Coding for religious diversity will be based on data from the CIA World Factbook (1999). Each nation will be coded with the percentage of people who do not belong to the majority religion. For example, the United States would be coded with a score of 16 representing the percentage of Americans who are not Christians (the main religious group). The higher the number a nation is coded, the more religious diversity there is.²

Position in Hierarchy of Nations

As indicated by the findings of previous studies, a nation's position within the hierarchy of nations influences the amount of coverage that nation receives from U.S. news media (Hester, 1974; Chang, 1998; Chang, Lau, & Hao, 2000). Media gatekeepers might consider events that occur in large powerful nations (such as Russia and Brazil) to be more newsworthy than similar events that occur in small and impoverished nations (such as Bolivia and Chad).

Previous research used different variables to determine a nation's location in the world hierarchy of nation. For example, the gross national product (GNP) has been

² Although this measure has the virtue of simplicity, it fails to account for many divisions within the predominant religious group. Categories such as "Christianity" overlook the many differences between Catholics and Protestants or among different Protestant denominations or Catholic confessions (Eastern Orthodox, Coptic, etc.) By the same token, it ignores the important Sunni and Shiite wings of Islam. In addition, the measure fails to account for such historically important cultural and religious phenomenon such as Confucianism in China, Shamanism in South America or any nonscriptural religions around the globe.

central to research based on Wallerstein's (1974) world system paradigm. A formula that measures exports along with GNP has been used in many studies to identify nations as core, periphery, or semi-periphery (see Gunaratne, 2001). The current study will incorporate these variables with a set of other major variables previously used to determine a nation's location within the hierarchy of nations. The following set of variables were utilized in many previous studies to measure a nation's location within the hierarchy of nations.

Gross National Product

A strong indicator of a nation's location within the hierarchy of nations is its gross national product, (Dupree, 1971; Hester, 1973; Robinson & Sparkes, 1976). Previous research indicates that core nations produce a substantially higher GNP than peripheral nations (p. 127). Coding for the GNP variable was based on GNP country data as reported by the World Bank. Every nation will be coded with its gross national product (in U.S. dollars) from 1999.

Exports

A nation's location within the hierarchy of nations can be measured in part by the nation's level of trade. The relationship between a nation's trade magnitude and coverage of the nation has been the subject of investigation by many scholars (Robinson & Sparkes, 1976; Wu, 1997; Chang & Lee, 2001). Nations with high economic interactions with other nations have been found to receive more coverage than nations with lower international involvement (see Wu, 1998; Wanta & Golan, 2001). As previously noted, measures of a nation's exports have been used as a key variable in determining a nation's location within the world system paradigm (Gunaratne, 2001).

Coding of the export variable was based on nations' overall export statistics from the year 1999. Coding will be based on data from the CIA World Factbook (1999).

Military Expenditure

A nation's location within the hierarchy of nations is not limited to economic variables. A nation's military power can reflect the nation's location within the world system. It is likely that nations with large and powerful armed forces will have a higher location within the world system than nations that have weak armed forces. Surprisingly, apart from Golan & Wanta (2003), not many previous studies have included this measurement as a variable for assessing a nation's position in the hierarchy of nations. They found that military expenditures were associated with coverage of international elections by U.S. network television news coverage of international elections.

Coding for the military expenditure variable was based on the data from the CIA World Factbook (2000). Coding of the military expenditure variable was based on the total amount (in thousands) of dollars that a nation allocated toward military expenditures during the year 1999.

Population

The location of a nation within the hierarchy of nations is also influenced by its overall population. Several studies provided evidence of the strong association between the population size of nations and the amount of news coverage and flow (Dupree, 1971; Nnaemeka & Richstad, 1981; and Kim & Barnett, 1996). It is likely that nations with large populations, such as India and Nigeria, will rank higher on the hierarchy of nations than nations with small populations, such as Belize and Armenia. The coding of the population variable was based on data from the World Bank (1999). Each nation was

coded (in thousands) with the total number of people who lived in the nation, according to the U.S. Census Bureau (1999).

Geographic Size

Previous research has indicated an association between the amount of coverage a nation receives and its geographic size (Ahern 1984; Dupree, 1971; Kim & Barnett, 1996). Nations with large geographic areas (for example, China and Russia) are more likely to be considered to be rated high on the hierarchy of nations than nations with very small land size (for example, Cyprus and Malta). Coding of the geographic size variable, based on data from the CIA World Factbook (1999), is the total amount of square kilometers (in thousands) in its domain.

Multivariate Regression

Shoemaker et al. (1991) utilized a hierarchical ordinary least squares (OLS) regression model to test the impact of country variables on international news coverage. Since the current study has no theoretical basis for assuming that any of the included variables is a more powerful predictor of coverage than another, the chief value of a hierarchical model I planned to conduct is only a regular OLS multivariate regression test with simultaneous entry of all predictors. The proposed regression test was altered as a result of a preliminary analysis of two dependent variables (overall coverage on the three networks and on CNN). For two reasons, the standard OLS was deemed inappropriate.

First, as indicated by the two bar graphs shown in Appendix 2A, neither dependent variable was normally distributed. In the case of both the networks and CNN, coverage of events around the world was limited to a few dozen nations resulting in a bimodal distribution with an excess of zeros and high values. The OLS regression requires a normal distribution in the dependent variable, and therefore is not the appropriate

statistical procedure for testing these data. The nature of the distribution of the dependent variable would likely violate the normality of the error term distribution and the constant variance of the error terms, the key assumptions of OLS regression. Such violations of the OLS assumptions are likely to result in serious errors in the estimation (Gill, 2001), which might lead to mistakenly accepting a null hypothesis.

In addition, OLS regression seems inappropriate for the current study due to another feature of the dependent variable. The news coverage measure is a count variable—an indicator of the number of times a nation was covered in the four television networks during 1999. Coverage is thus always positive and always an integer. The OLS regression requires the range of the dependent variable to range from negative infinity to positive infinity, and therefore is not appropriate for measurement of the current data. Based on the nature of the dependent variable (count) and its distribution (non-normal distribution), the current study uses a General Linear Model (GLM) with a Poisson distribution as the most appropriate regression model for the current data (Agresti, 1996, p. 80).

One way to understand the basic differences between OLS regression and GLM regression is through the examination of the link function. When predicting a model using OLS, I model the mean of the dependent variable at a given level of explanatory variables (for example, how much coverage a nation receives based on its population). This mean is referred to as a link function. When using GLM, I do not model the means of the dependent variable but the log of the mean of the dependent variable. The GLM employs the link function in a manner that no longer requires asymptotic normality and constancy of variance (Gill, 2001, p. 2). This is an additional justification for employing

GLM rather than OLS regression based on the nature of the dependent variable in the current study.

The interpretation of the GLM (in this case, the Poisson) model differs somewhat from the interpretation of a standard OLS regression model. When using OLS regression, the unstandardized regression coefficient indicates how much y increases for every unit increase in X . For example, in a model predicting news mentions as a function of GNP, the b coefficient signifies the change in mentions a nation would receive for every \$1 increase (or whatever basic unit was employed) in its GNP. The GLM coefficients do not provide such effects information since the regression line is non-linear. The change in Y is a function of the specific value of x and may differ at different points along the regression plane. In the previous example, the change in y might differ when the GNP was \$10,000, as opposed to \$5,000. Thus, when interpreting GLM coefficients, I examine the direction of the coefficient (negative or positive) and the significance of the p -value. A first differences test will be administered to further help in the interpretation of the regression results.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

This chapter highlights the main results of the content analysis and the subsequent regression analysis. The results of the content analysis reflect how the ABC, CBS, NBC, and CNN television evening news programs covered international news stories during the year 1999. The results of the Poisson model indicate the association between the independent variables and the amount of coverage nations received from the television news programs during 1999.

Content Analysis: The Dependent Variable

The unit of analysis of content analysis was the individual evening broadcast. Each broadcast was coded for the countries that were covered in that evening's news stories. As noted in the methodology section, a country was coded only if it was the main subject of the news story. Since the evening news programs often ran more than one international story or covered more than one nation in a story, each evening news program was coded more than once (multiple response variable).

The results of the content analysis suggest that the nature of international news coverage differs significantly between the four networks (see Appendix 1). The content analysis reveals that ABC had 769 country mentions (coverage of a country as the main subject of a news story), CBS had 753 country mentions, NBC had 539 country mentions, and CNN had 1,751. When dividing these numbers into the overall number of broadcasts included in the sample, the analysis reveals that on an average night ABC had 2.33 country mentions (769/329), CBS had 2.44 country mentions per broadcast

(753/308), NBC had 1.69 country mentions per broadcast (539/318), and CNN had 5.07 country mentions per broadcast (1,751/345). These results indicate that the amount of international news coverage is very different across the four networks. Specifically, CNN viewers are more likely to be exposed to international news stories than viewers of the other networks.

While the amount of coverage greatly differed between the four networks, the nature of the coverage was somewhat similar (see Table 1). The results of the content analysis suggest that less than 25 countries out of 190 dominated the majority of international news coverage from the four networks, representing 83% of country mentions on ABC, 85% on CBS, 86% on NBC, 82% on CNN, 84% of the three traditional network total (not including CNN), and 83% of the total coverage of all four networks. The results clearly indicate that all four networks perceive these countries as more newsworthy than the other 170 countries that were included in the analysis. The fact that a limited number of nations dominated coverage suggests that overall newsworthiness of international events is largely based on country based characteristics.

The results of the content analysis indicate that newsworthiness is not limited only to countries but also to geographic regions. Among the top countries of coverage (which account for more than 80% of the total coverage), certain regions received more coverage than others (see Table 2). The results indicate that Eastern Europe (Yugoslavia, Russia, and Albania) received nearly 38% of the total coverage among the four television networks. Asia (China, Indonesia, India, Pakistan, Japan) received 21%, the Middle East (Israel, Iraq, Jordan, Egypt, Iran, and the Palestinian Authority) received 18%, Western Europe (Italy, France, UK, Turkey) received 12%, Latin America (Cuba, Colombia,

Mexico) received 8%, North America (Canada), Oceania (Australia) and Africa (South Africa) were limited to one percentage each.

Table 1. Country coverage: Top countries

Country	ABC	CBS	NBC	CNN	Total
Yugoslavia	190	194	155	264	803
Russia	61	66	54	184	365
China	57	59	37	130	283
Israel	32	38	26	113	209
UK	41	41	26	90	198
Iraq	28	32	17	82	159
Indonesia	19	19	11	62	111
India	12	16	11	71	110
Cuba	16	21	18	45	100
Turkey	19	16	16	40	91
Mexico	17	20	14	36	89
Pakistan	11	11	7	50	79
Colombia	12	20	11	33	76
Japan	20	11	5	33	69
Palestinian A	9	11	9	40	69
Italy	15	9	10	22	56
France	12	8	4	27	51
Albania	17	5	6	21	49
Jordan	10	8	8	20	46
Egypt	6	5	5	20	36
Canada	8	12	6	9	35
S. Africa	7	7	4	17	35
Iran	8	6	3	18	35
Australia	4	4	3	12	33
Total	636	638	465	1432	3183

Coverage means:

ABC	636/769	0.83
CBS	638/753	0.85
NBC	465/539	0.86

3 networks total	1739/2061	0.84
CNN	1432/1751	0.82

4 networks total	3183/3812	0.83
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Table 2. Coverage by region (top countries covered)

Region	ABC	CBS	NBC	CNN	Total
Europe East	43% (268)	42% (265)	46% (215)	33% (469)	38% (1217)
Asia	19% (119)	18% (116)	15% (71)	23% (335)	21% (652)
Middle East	15% (93)	15% (100)	15% (68)	20% (293)	18% (554)
Europe West	13% (87)	12% (74)	12% (56)	13% (179)	12% (396)
L. America	7% (45)	9% (61)	9% (43)	8% (114)	8% (265)
N. America	1% (8)	2% (12)	1% (6)	1% (9)	1% (35)
Africa	1% (4)	1% (4)	1% (3)	1% (12)	1% (33)
Oceania	1% (4)	1% (4)	1% (3)	1% (12)	1% (33)
Total	100% (636)	100% (638)	100% (465)	100% (1432)	100% (3183)

Poisson Regression

Upon completion of the content analysis, two dependent variables were identified: overall network coverage and overall CNN coverage. As argued in the methodology section and later highlighted by the content analysis results, the nature of news coverage differs significantly between the three networks and CNN and therefore requires a separate analysis.

The current study initially included 16 independent variables. Two independent variables--migration and travel to the nation from the United States were dropped from the regression test due to the large number of empty cells that resulted from inability to gather data for the majority of cases (for example, how many people migrated from Benin or Guyana to the United States).

Two separate Poisson models were created, based on the regression of the 14 independent variables with two dependent variables.

As indicated by Table 3, both Poisson models provided strong evidence of the association between the independent and the dependent variables (network and CNN coverage). The majority of independent variables were found to be significant predictors of coverage when regressed with the overall country coverage on the networks:

Instability, Trade with the U.S., Distance from the U.S., U.S. investment, U.S. aid, percentage of Christians, religious diversity, Gross National Product, exports, military expenditures, population and geographic size³.

Table 3. Poisson model: Network and CNN (unstandardized b, P-value)

Variable	b networks	P value networks	b (CNN)	P value (CNN)
Intercept	-3.814e+00	< 2e-16 ***	-2.880e+00	< 2e-16 ***
Instability	1.008e-01	<2e-16***	8.688e-02	<2e-16***
Trade with U.S.	8.003e-06	<2e-16***	7.037e-06	<5.28e-13***
Distance U.S.	-1.762e-04	<2e-16***	-1.203e-04	5.81e-10***
U.S. Investment	5.818e-06	<2e-16***	5.724e-06	3.76e-14 ***
U.S. Aid	2.762e-06	<2e-16***	2.662e-06	< 2e-16 ***
Press Freedom	2.146e-03	0.2594	-8.678e-04	0.66966
% Christians	1.651e-02	<2e-16***	1.064e-02	7.03e-09 ***
% Muslims	2.072e-04	0.9012	5.341e-04	0.74622
Religious Diversity	-9.655e-03	3.09e-09***	-1.396e-02	1.12e-15 ***
GNP	2.161e-07	0.0160*	3.902e-08	0.67976
Exports	1.302e-06	0.0444*	4.985e-07	0.49544
Military Expend.	6.880e-05	<2e-16***	7.545e-05	< 2e-16 ***
Population	1.439e-09	<2e-16***	1.642e-09	< 2e-16 ***
Geographic Size	-5.509e-08	3.06e-05***	-4.249e-08	0.00214 **

Significance codes: ***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 ' N=190

For networks: Null deviance: 7916.9 on 167 degrees of freedom, Residual deviance: 3285.0 on 153 degrees of freedom, AIC: 3633.8

For CNN: Null deviance: 5835.0 on 167 degrees of freedom, Residual deviance: 2061.1 on 153 degrees of freedom, AIC: 2416

The Poisson model indicated significant associations between the following independent variables and overall coverage on CNN: instability, trade with the United

³ The letter e represents the number of decimals 0 spaces between preceding the number.

States, distance from the United States, U.S. investment, U.S. aid, percentage of Christians, religious diversity, military expenditures, population, and geographic size.

Influential Case Analysis

Upon completion of the Poisson tests, an influential case analysis (Cook's distance plot) was conducted to identify those cases that might have a strong influence on the Poisson models. As indicated by the Cook's distance plot (see Appendix C), France, Israel, and Yugoslavia were identified as influential cases. This does not necessarily indicate that these cases were outliers but rather that these cases had a strong impact on the model results. To correctly assess the impact of the influential cases on the two Poisson models, separate Poisson tests were conducted for both the networks and CNN, each omitting the influential cases one at a time. In addition to the three countries that were identified as influential cases, I also ran the Poisson models excluding Russia. Russia ranked second after Yugoslavia, as it served as a strong outlier in both dependent variables and is likely to have some influence on the Poisson models.

Tables 4 and 5 demonstrate the effect that dropping the individual influential cases had on the Poisson models. Unlike the initial models that found the majority of independent variables to be significant (12 for the networks and 10 for CNN), the Poisson models yielded different results when dropping the influential cases.

The overall network coverage Poisson model yielded different results when the different cases were included and removed. Only 7 out of 14 variables were found to be consistently, significant, regardless of case inclusion or exclusion: instability, distance from the United States, U.S. investment, U.S. aid, religious diversity, military expenditures, and population. Consistent with these findings, the same seven variables were found to be consistently significant despite the exclusion or inclusion of the

different influential cases. Trade with the United States was found significant three out of the four times in which influential cases were included or excluded for the networks model. Trade with the United States and the percentage of Christians were found significant three out of four times for the CNN model. It is almost impossible to explain why a specific case (for example, France) might have a strong impact on the significance of variables. I might speculate using common sense on why such an effect exists, however, only a specific case study can really provide a satisfactory answer to this question.

Table 4. Poisson model: excluding influential cases: Networks (unstandardized b, P-value)

Variable	Excluding Yugoslavia	Excluding France	Excluding Israel	Excluding Russia
Intercept	-5.341e-01 0.0395 *	-3.684e+00 < 2e-16 ***	-5.341e-01 0.0395 *	-3.799e+00 < 2e-16 ***
Instability	4.570e-02 2e-16 ***	1.110e-01 < 2e-16 ***	4.570e-02 < 2e-16 ***	9.947e-02 < 2e-16 ***
Trade with U.S.	5.370e-06 2.22e-10 ***	-5.326e-08 0.9653	5.370e-06 9.22e-10 ***	8.304e-06 < 2e-16 ***
Distance U.S.	-1.278e-04 1.61e-08 ***	-1.920e-04 < 2e-16 ***	-1.278e-04 1.61e-08 ***	-1.759e-04 < 2e-16 ***
U.S. Investment	6.816e-06 < 2e-16 ***	2.948e-06 7.66e-05 ***	6.816e-06 < 2e-16 ***	6.007e-06 < 2e-16 ***
U.S. Aid	2.320e-06 < 2e-16 ***	2.942e-06 < 2e-16 ***	2.320e-06 < 2e-16 ***	2.784e-06 < 2e-16 ***
Press Freedom	1.489e-03 0.4943	-1.864e-03 0.3539	1.489e-03 0.4943	2.779e-03 0.15219
% Christians	3.540e-03 0.08007	1.293e-02 3.79e-12 ***	3.540e-03 0.0696	1.678e-02 < 2e-16 ***
% Muslims	2.592e-03 0.1404	-3.996e-03 0.0221 *	2.592e-03 0.1404	6.494e-04 0.70126
Religious Diversity	-1.242e-02 2.22e-10 ***	-1.672e-02 < 2e-16 ***	-1.242e-02 2.22e-10 ***	-8.919e-03 1.36e-07 ***
GNP	-8.188e-08 0.3609	-1.099e-07 0.2480	-8.188e-08 0.3609	2.206e-07 0.01482 *
Exports	6.986e-07 0.2866	1.381e-05 < 2e-16 ***	6.986e-07 0.2866	1.529e-06 0.02010 *

Military Expend.	6.106e-05 < 2e-16 ***	1.725e-05 0.0341 *	6.106e-05 < 2e-16 ***	6.408e-05 < 2e-16 ***
Population	1.734e-09 < 2e-16 ***	7.790e-10 2.85e-07 ***	1.734e-09 < 2e-16 ***	1.654e-09 < 2e-16 ***
Geographic Size	2.514e-08 0.0563	3.359e-08 0.0357 *	2.514e-08 0.0563	-8.793e-08 0.00043 ***

Significance codes: '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 `N=190

Table 5. Poisson model: Excluding influential cases: CNN (unstandardized b, P-value)

Variable	Excluding Yugoslavia	Excluding France	Excluding Israel	Excluding Russia
Intercept	-1.172e+00 9.53e-06 ***	-2.693e+00 < 2e-16 ***	-3.677e+00 < 2e-16 ***	-2.871e+00 < 2e-16 ***
Instability	5.592e-02 < 2e-16 ***	9.603e-02 < 2e-16 ***	8.339e-02 < 2e-16 ***	8.478e-02 < 2e-16 ***
Trade with U.S.	5.922e-06 3.16e-09 ***	-5.379e-07 0.694185	6.162e-06 1.41e-09 ***	7.632e-06 5.11e-14 ***
Distance U.S.	-6.934e-05 0.00267 **	-1.401e-04 7.21e-13 ***	-1.103e-04 1.23e-08 ***	-1.197e-04 4.67e-10 ***
U.S. Investment	6.461e-06 < 2e-16 ***	3.251e-06 4.41e-05 ***	6.751e-06 < 2e-16 ***	5.911e-06 1.69e-14 ***
U.S. Aid	2.401e-06 < 2e-16 ***	2.807e-06 < 2e-16 ***	7.035e-07 0.034019 *	2.697e-06 < 2e-16 ***
Press Freedom	-3.085e-03 0.15819	-4.842e-03 0.023071 *	1.072e-03 0.611692	2.408e-04 0.908139
% Christians	3.371e-03 0.08007	7.289e-03 8.78e-05 ***	2.071e-02 < 2e-16 ***	1.108e-02 1.87e-09 ***
% Muslims	3.039e-03 0.07487	-3.157e-03 0.061802	1.032e-02 1.14e-05 ***	1.236e-03 0.461423
Religious Diversity	-1.497e-02 1.74e-14 ***	-2.114e-02 < 2e-16 ***	-1.290e-02 3.65e-12 ***	-1.280e-02 1.96e-12 ***
GNP	-1.599e-07 0.09067	-2.345e-07 0.017632 *	4.017e-07 0.227991	3.493e-08 0.714577
Exports	3.899e-07 0.59172	1.158e-05 2.30e-13 ***	-9.809e-07 0.227991	8.237e-07 0.261092
Military Expend.	7.037e-05 < 2e-16 ***	2.931e-05 0.000446 ***	7.057e-05 < 2e-16 ***	6.944e-05 < 2e-16 ***
Population	1.755e-09 < 2e-16 ***	1.164e-09 6.59e-16 ***	2.387e-09 < 2e-16 ***	1.949e-09 < 2e-16 ***
Geographic Size	1.036e-08 0.45909	3.694e-08 0.024652 *	-3.742e-08 0.007100 **	-9.277e-08 0.000919 ***

Significance codes: '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 `N=190

Based on the consistent significance and nature of the coefficient direction, the current study can assess the proposed hypotheses, as presented in Chapter 2.

Evaluating the Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1 predicted that a nation's level of deviance is positively associated with the amount of coverage it receives from U.S. television news programs. In the current study, deviance was operationalized in terms of instability and was based on NDFC data. Instability was found to have a positive direction and found to be significant in all 10 Poisson models that were generated by the current study (see Tables, 3, 4, 5). The results of the Poisson models strongly support Hypothesis 1.

Hypothesis 2 predicted that a nation's relevance to the United States is positively associated with the amount of coverage it will receive from U.S. television news programs. In the current study, relevance to the United States was operationalized by trade with the United States, proximity to the United States, U.S. investment in the nation, and U.S. aid. Distance from the United States, U.S. investment, and U.S. aid were significant in all 10 Poisson models that were generated. The negative coefficient in front of the distance from the U.S. coefficients in all 10 models suggest that there is a negative association between distance and coverage, that is, the lower the distance from the United States, the higher the coverage. This finding is consistent with Hypothesis 2 since I argue that nations that are close to the United States are more likely to be considered relevant to the United States than nations that are far away. The positive direction of the U.S. investment and U.S. aid coefficients suggest a positive association between U.S. economic involvement in a country (relevance) and the amount of coverage the nation received from U.S. television networks (including CNN). Based on the

significant p values and direction of coefficients for distance from the United States, U.S. investment, and U.S. aid variables, the data provide support for Hypothesis 2.

Hypothesis 3 predicted a positive association between cultural affinity of nations with the United States and coverage. In the original design, cultural affinity was operationalized through the press freedom, migration and travel from the U.S. variables. Due to inability to gather data for the majority of cases, both migration and the travel variables were not included in the Poisson. Therefore, press freedom was the sole variable used to measure cultural affinity. In all 10 Poisson models, press freedom did not produce significant p values. Furthermore, the direction of the coefficients suggests mixed results as to the association between press freedom and coverage.

In the original Poisson models, press freedom produced a positive coefficient (2.146e-02) for the networks and a negative coefficient (-8.678e-04) for CNN. A higher score on the Freedom House survey (1999) suggests a lower degree of press freedom in a nation. Therefore, the original Poisson models suggest that networks are more likely to cover nations with lower degrees of press freedom, and CNN is more likely to cover nations with higher degrees of press freedom.⁴

The Poisson models that excluded influential cases also produced mixed results concerning press freedom. None of the eight models produced significant p values for the press freedom variable. The coefficients of the variable were consistently positive with the exception of the models that excluded France (networks) and France and Yugoslavia for CNN. Based on the nonsignificant p-scores and contradictory direction of the coefficients of the press freedom variable, Hypothesis 3 can be rejected.

⁴ These differences can not be explained by the current study. A qualitative examination might account for the differences in the direction of the coefficients between the three networks and CNN.

Hypothesis 4 predicted a positive association between religious affinity with the United States and coverage. Three variables were used to operationalize religious affinity: the percentage of Christians, religious diversity, and the percentage of Muslims. Positive coefficients for the first two variables would suggest a higher religious affinity of a nation with the United States, and a negative coefficient for the Muslim variable would suggest a lower degree of religious affinity to the United States.

The results of the original Poisson models suggest that the percentage of Christians in a nation is a predictor of coverage ($p=.00$ for networks and $p=.00$ for CNN). The significance of the variable is somewhat undermined when excluding influential cases from the Poisson models. For the networks, the percentage of Christians variable remains significant when France and Russia are excluded ($p=.00, p=.00$). However, the variable is nonsignificant when Yugoslavia and Israel are excluded from the model ($p=.08007, p=.0696$). For CNN, the percentage of Christians variable is significant when France ($p=.00$), Israel ($p=.00$), and Russia ($p=.00$) is excluded. However, the variable is not significant when Yugoslavia is excluded from the model ($p=.08007$).

Based on the positive direction of the coefficient in all 10 models and based on the significance of the p values in 7 out of 10 of the models, I conclude that there is a positive association between the percentage of Christians in a nation and coverage.

Unlike the Christians variable, which proved to be a significant predictor of coverage, the percentage of Muslims in a nation was not found to be significant. In both of the original Poisson models and in 7 out of 8 Poisson models in which influential cases were dropped, the variable was found to be nonsignificant. This suggests that there is no association between the percentage of Muslims in a nation and coverage. Of course, the

events of September 11, 2001, may have altered this pattern by promoting greater coverage of the Muslim world. In 1999, however, coverage of the Muslim world was relatively limited with the exceptions of the war in Kosovo and the Israeli-Arab conflict.

The religious diversity variable proved significant in 10 out of 10 Poisson models. However, the direction of the coefficient in all models was negative. This would suggest that there is a negative rather than positive association between the amount of religious diversity in a nation and coverage. The results suggest that nations with lower religious diversity than that of the United States are more likely to receive coverage and therefore provide reason to reject Hypothesis 4.

Hypothesis 5 predicted a positive association between a nation's location in the hierarchy of nations and coverage. That is, large wealthy powerful nations are more likely to receive coverage than small poor nations. In the current study, a nation's location within the hierarchy of nations was based on the nation's GNP, exports, military expenditures, population, and geographic size. Population and military size had positive coefficients and significant p-values in 10 out of 10 models. These results provide strong support for Hypothesis 5.

The GNP and exports variables proved to be slightly significant for the networks in the original model ($p=.0160$ and $p=.0444$) yet remained nonsignificant in most Poisson models for both the networks and CNN.

In the original two Poisson models, geographic size proved significant ($p=.00$ for networks and $p=.00214$ for CNN). While the p values were significant for both dependent variables, the direction of the coefficient proved contradictory with a positive coefficient for the networks ($b=1.439e-09$) and a negative coefficient for CNN ($b=-$

4.249e-08). The results of the variable significance and direction remained contradictory in the influential case equations, as geographic size p values were highly significant three times (for networks excluding Russia $p=.00043$, for CNN excluding Israel and Russia $p=.007100$ and $p=.000919$), slightly significant for both network and CNN when France was dropped (networks $p=.0357$ and CNN $p=.024652$), and nonsignificant for all other models. The direction of the coefficients of geographic size also provided mixed results with a positive coefficient in 5 out of the 10 models and 5 negative coefficients. Based on the nature of the results, it might be concluded that the effect of the variable is not stable enough on which to base findings.

The results of the Poisson models identify 7 variables that were found to be significant for both the networks and CNN in all 10 Poisson models. These variables include: instability, distance from the United States, U.S. investment, U.S. aid, religious diversity, military expenditures, and population. The consistency of coefficient direction and significant p values across all 10 models suggest that these 10 variables are strong predictors of international news coverage. Future research would likely benefit from incorporating these variables in any model predicting international news coverage on network television news.

Evaluating Coefficient Effects

In lieu of the standard linear interpretation, scholars commonly measure the impact of a single predictor by calculating what is known as the first difference. The first differences statistic allows for an estimation of how much the expected coverage would change given a particular change in an independent variable (King, 1998, p. 107). The first differences test was conducted in the following manner. First, variables were set to their means, except for the one of interest. Next, the variable of interest was set to some

theoretical value (in this case first and third quartiles). The means of each variable (except the one of interest) were multiplied by their coefficients and added together. Finally, the variable of interest is taken at its selected value, multiplied by its coefficient, and added to the number. This score will represent the probability of the outcome variable occurring at a given value of the variable of interest. This difference between the two numbers represents the first difference score. Table 6 reflects the scores of the first differences tests.

Table 6. First differences scores: Networks

Networks			
Variable	1 st Quartile	3 rd Quartile	First Difference
Instability	0.34251	11.665	11.322
Distance from U.S.	3.3880	1.9847	-1.4033
U.S. Investment	2.3896	2.4446	0.054954
U.S. Aid	2.2992	2.5271	0.22792
Religious Diversity	2.9006	2.2786	-0.62205
Military Expend.	2.0671	2.4885	0.42138
Population	2.3781	2.4860	0.10780
CNN			
Variable	1 st Quartile	3 rd Quartile	First Difference
Instability	0.48359	8.5039	8.0203
Distance from U.S.	3.2913	2.2846	-1.0067
U.S. Investment	2.5650	2.6231	0.058025
U.S. Aid	2.4732	2.6576	0.18438
Religious Diversity	3.3388	2.3547	-0.98345
Military Expend.	2.1790	2.6707	0.49165
Population	2.7633	2.9067	0.14338

The first difference scores predict the expected increase or decrease in coverage between a case that falls within the first quartile of a variable and the third quartile of a variable. It should be noted that the effects scores for some variables might be understated due to the extremely large range of possible case scores (for example, population or US aid). While these scores seem limited, they actually reflect a substantial effect. Additionally, the score might seem somewhat understated since many of the

nations that received wide-scale coverage fell within the fourth quartiles on some of the variables (for example, China and population).

When evaluating the Poisson models with the first differences test results, it can be argued that the model that was constructed by the current study successfully demonstrates which country-based variables have the strongest association with coverage. Chapter 5 will provide a discussion and analysis of the study's results and implications on the research into the determinants of international news coverage.

CHAPTER 5 DISCUSSION

This chapter presents the main findings of the current study. Following a discussion of the nature of coverage, I will proceed to discuss the results of the Poisson tests. This includes a discussion of the four major variable groups that were included in the Poisson test: instability, relevance to the United States, cultural/religious affinity, and location in the hierarchy of nations. A discussion of how the Poisson findings relate to previous research findings will ensue. The last part of the chapter will focus on the contributions of the current study to both the academic and the professional communication fields, study limitations, and suggestions for future research.

Patterns in Coverage

What factors make other countries newsworthy enough to warrant coverage on U.S. television evening news programs? The results of the content analysis suggest that the NBC, CBS, NBC, and CNN television news networks focused the majority of international news stories on less than 25 nations. Such findings are consistent with previous studies (Larson, 1982) which found that between 1972 and 1981, U.S. television network news focused the majority of their international coverage on a limited number of countries and geographic regions. Such results provide strong support for the New World Information Order argument that argues that there is an imbalance in the coverage and flow of international news around the world (Masmoudi, 1979). In addition, the current results provide strong evidence for the need to use the contextual approach rather than just the event-oriented approach in research of the determinants of international news

coverage. This argument is substantiated by the fact that the vast majority of international news coverage (on all four networks) was dominated by less than 20 countries. While potentially newsworthy events occur daily around the world, most do not receive coverage unless they occur in nations that are newsworthy to U.S. television gatekeepers, such as those nations which ranked in the top 20 list of coverage in the current study.

As previously discussed in the literature review, research of international news coverage is primarily focused around either the event-oriented or the contextual approach. While the former focuses on the nature of the event as the main predictor of coverage, the latter focuses on contextual variables (nation characteristics) as the main predictors of coverage. The results of the content analysis show that the four networks focus more than 80% of their coverage to less than 25 nations.

Chang et al. (1987) and Shoemaker et al. (1991) argue that event-oriented studies of international news coverage of international events, which involve high levels of potential for social change deviance or normative deviance, are likely to receive coverage. Both studies provide empirical evidence to support these claims. Yet the pattern of network coverage of international stories during 1999 provides evidence that somewhat contradicts the event-oriented approach. During this year, wars, coups, border skirmishes, and terrorism occurred worldwide. Such events clearly would be considered as highly deviant for both normative and potential for social change deviance since they constitute a significant change in the status quo and norms in the nations where they occurred. However, the current study clearly indicates that coverage of 1999 events, such as the civil war in Algeria, wide-scale terrorism in Cambodia, a military coup in

Comoros, and the bloody war between Eritrea and Ethiopia, remained consistently uncovered by the four U.S. television networks. The results of the study's content analysis indicate that the vast majority of events around the world do not receive coverage. They also indicate that the vast majority of nations do not receive coverage.

The current study provides strong evidence to suggest that coverage of an international event by U.S. television network news cannot be predicted solely on the basis of understanding the nature of an international event. The fact that 20 countries accounted for 80% of international coverage on all four networks suggests that there is a very strong association between the nation in which an event occurs and the likelihood of its coverage.

I based the research design of this study around the contextual approach and on the assumption that there is a strong association between international news coverage and country characteristics. Using a GLM regression test (Poisson), the current study measured the association between 14 independent variables and coverage on the 3 main networks and CNN. The results of the Poisson models indicate that seven country-based variables are highly associated with coverage: instability, distance from the United States, U.S. investment, U.S. aid, religious diversity, military expenditures, and population. The following sections will discuss the consistency or lack of consistency of the current results and those of previous studies.

Instability

Deviance (normative and potential for social change) has been identified by several previous studies as a key predictor of international news coverage (Shoemaker et al. 1986; Chang et al., 1987; Shoemaker et al., 1991). The current study argued against the subjective coding of the deviance variables and argued for an alternative coding of the

two deviance variables using instability scores (composed of political, economic, military, and social instability). Consistent across all 10 Poisson models in both its direction and significance, instability proved to have a significant association with coverage. These results suggest that all other points being equal, unstable nations are more likely to receive coverage than stable nations. This argument might explain why such nations that ranked low on instability (Bahamas, Iceland, and Denmark) received limited coverage. However, the instability variable alone cannot predict overall coverage, as evidenced by the lack of coverage for such highly unstable nations as Angola, Algeria, Cambodia, and Comoros. I will argue that no one country-based variable can fully predict coverage but rather that a combination of significantly associated variables can account for coverage. However, the results of the current study provide strong evidence to the strong impact that the deviance variable has on international news coverage. The consistency of the current findings with the Shoemaker, Danielian & Brendlinger (1991) and the Chang et al. (1987) studies indicate that the deviance variable is a significant determinant of international news coverage when approached from either the contextual or the event-oriented approach.

Relevance to the United States

One of the most consistent arguments in previous research on international news coverage assumed that nations or events that are perceived to be relevant to the United States are more likely to receive coverage than those that are not relevant (Chang and Lee, 1992; Chang et al., 1987; Shoemaker et al., 1991). The current study operationalized relevance to the United States using the geographic distance from the United States, trade with the United States, U.S. aid, and U.S. private investment in nation variables. The results of the Poisson tests indicate that geographic distance, U.S.

aid and U.S. investment are significantly associated with coverage (both networks and CNN) in all 10 models.

The negative coefficient of the geographic distance variable in all Poisson models provides evidence that the closer a nation is to the United States (geographically), the more likely it is to receive coverage. It is understandable that events that occur in nearby nations might seem more newsworthy to U.S. gatekeepers than events that occur in distant nations. These findings are consistent with previous studies that argued for the same association between distance and coverage (Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Van Belle, 2000; Chang et al., 1987; Wu, 1998). Based on the significant association between geographic distance and coverage in the current study and in previous studies, I will argue that geographic distance from the United States should be included as a variable in all future studies on the determinants of international news coverage. As a note of caution, I will also argue that geographic distance alone cannot be used to assess potential coverage since many distant nations, such as Russia, China, and India, received large-scale coverage (based on the current study of 1999) while many nearer nations received limited-to-no-coverage (Haiti, Dominican Republic, Belize). Again, no single variable model is adequate.

In addition to geographic distance from the United States, the current study operationalized relevance to the United States using the U.S. aid variable. It is logical to assume that nations that receive large-scale economic aid from the United States (Israel or Egypt) might be considered to be more relevant to the United States than those nations that do not receive economic aid (Albania or Azerbaijan). The current study clearly indicates that there is a positive association between aid from the United States and

coverage. Shoemaker et al. (1991), who found U.S. aid to be a strong predictor of coverage in *The New York Times* when paired with potential for social change deviance, did not find U.S. aid to be significant for television network coverage. The current study provides conflicting evidence as U.S. aid is found to be highly significant. Future research should include the U.S. aid variable in multivariate regression tests.

In addition to the distance and aid from the United States variable, the current study operationalized relevance to the United States using the U.S. private investment in a nation. Logically, nations in which American citizens invest their money (for example, France and Mexico) would likely be considered to be more relevant to the United States than nations in which Americans do not invest their money (for example, Laos and Benin). All 10 Poisson models indicate a positive association between U.S. investment in a nation and coverage. These findings are consistent with Shoemaker et al. (1991) who found that the number of US businesses (when paired with normative deviance) was a significant predictor of television network coverage of international events.

The fourth variable used to operationalize relevance to the United States in the current study was trade with the United States. The variable was found significant (with a positive coefficient) in 8 out of 10 Poisson models. Surprisingly, the variable was found to be nonsignificant for both the networks and CNN when France was dropped out of the regression. It is difficult to assess why France had such an influence on the variable's significance. France ranked among the leading trade partners of the United States but is not the largest trade partner. Despite this inconsistency, the current study found that the trade with the U.S. variable is positively associated with international coverage for all television networks included in the study.

The study's finding of a positive association between trade and coverage is consistent with previous studies (Ahern, 1984; Kim & Barnett, 1996) but are inconsistent with many other studies that found trade with the United States to be either nonsignificant (Shoemaker et al., 1991; Chang & Lee, 2001) or negatively associated rather than positively associated (Golan & Wanta, 2003). Future research should incorporate the trade with the U.S. variable in a multivariate regression test in order to establish its association with coverage of international events by US network television news programs.

Cultural/Religious Affinity

Hester (1974) argued that nations that share a cultural affinity with the United States are more likely to be considered newsworthy than nations that do not share a cultural affinity. The current study argued that based on the close relationship between culture and religion, religious variables should be included in the regression, as well as cultural variables. The study operationalized cultural affinity using the migration, travel from the United States, and press freedom variables. The study operationalized cultural affinity using the percentage of Christians, percentage of Muslims (assuming a negative association), and religious diversity variables. Because data were not available for the majority of cases (countries), the migration and travel variables were dropped from the regression tests. The current study provides limited evidence to the association between cultural/religious affinity and international news coverage by television networks (including CNN). The only relevant variable that was found significant in all 10 Poisson models was the religious diversity variable.

The current study found that there is no significant association between press freedom and coverage. This finding is consistent with the Shoemaker et al. (1991) and

Chang et al. (1987) studies, but is not consistent with the Chang & Lee (2001) study, which found press freedom to be a strong predictor of coverage.

Shoemaker et al. (1991) found the percentage of Christians in a nation to be nonsignificant when regressed with network television coverage of international events. The current study provides limited support to this finding. The percentage of Christians was found to be nonsignificant in 7 out of 10 Poisson models. The variable was no longer significant when Israel or Yugoslavia was dropped from the regression (for networks) and when Yugoslavia was dropped from the model (CNN). It is difficult to explain why exactly Yugoslavia or Israel had such an effect on the significance of the variables in the different Poisson models. The data of the current study cannot provide a scientific answer to such a question.

The coefficient for percentage of Christians was positive in all 10 models. This suggests that nations that are composed of large Christian populations are more likely to receive coverage than those nations that are not Christian. The fact that the variable was found significant in 7 out of 10 models might indicate that the variable is likely associated with coverage. Based on the lack of consistency between previous research findings and those of the current study, future research should incorporate the percentage of the Christians variable as a possible determinant of international news coverage.

The percentage of Muslims variable served as an antithesis to the percentage of the Christians variable. A negative association in the former would likely reflect a positive association in the latter. The variable was found to be nonsignificant in 8 out of the 10 models suggesting that there is no significant association between the percentage of Muslims in a nation and the amount of coverage it receives from US television networks.

The only exceptions to this finding were found in the CNN Poisson model which dropped Israel from the regression. Despite the consistent findings that show no variable significance, the current author would argue that the percentage of Muslims variable should be included in future studies. This argument is based on the post September 11, 2001, reality which introduced Islam as a major variable in international politics.

The results of the current study identify a significant negative association between religious diversity and coverage. This finding is consistent in all 10 Poisson models. The results suggest that the lower the religious diversity is in a nation, the more likely it will receive coverage from U.S. television network news programs. Since the United States is a relatively diverse nation, the current results indicate that a lack of religious affinity with the United States would lead to increase coverage.

The current study is one of the first to introduce the religious diversity variable to international news coverage research. Based on the highly significant association of the variable in all 10 Poisson models, the current study will argue for its inclusion in future models of research into the determinants of international news coverage.

Location in Hierarchy of Nations

The current study assumed a positive association between a location of a nation in the hierarchy of nations and the amount of coverage it received from U.S. television networks. Logically, large powerful nations would be considered more newsworthy than small improvised nations. The results of the content analysis provided evidence to this argument as Russia, China, the United Kingdom, and India ranked at the top of coverage. However, it was the Poisson regression tests that explained which related variables have a significant association with coverage.

The current study incorporated two closely related concepts: 1) location of a nation in the hierarchy of nations, and 2) the location of a nation within the world system into one variable category named location of nation in hierarchy of nations. This variable group included the GNP, exports, military expenditures, population, and geographic size variables. The only two variables that were found significant in all 10 Poisson models were the military expenditures and the population variables.

The GNP and exports variables are traditionally incorporated as the operational tools for measuring the location of a nation within the world system (Gunaratne, 2001). The current study findings indicate that the gross national product of a nation was almost never associated significantly with coverage. These findings contradict previous studies that found a positive association between GNP and coverage (Kim and Barnett, 1996; Dupree, 1971), but are consistent with other studies that found no significant association between GNP and coverage (Shoemaker et al., 1991).

The exports variable also proved not to be associated with coverage as it was found nonsignificant in 7 out of 10 Poisson models (only highly significant when France was excluded from the regression). The current study is one of the first to actually measure the association between a nation's overall exports (rather than exports to United States). The decision to incorporate this variable was based on the Chang (1998) study, which argued for the inclusion of the world system theory in research of international news coverage. The two key variables for measuring a nation's location within the world system were both found to be nonsignificant in the current study. However, the content analysis clearly indicates that such core nations as Russia and the United Kingdom ranked among the highest in news coverage. I will argue that the operational definitions

of a nation's location in the world system should be broadened to include more than these two variables.

The results of the current study indicate that the military expenditure variable is positively associated with coverage. Thus, nations with large militaries and military budgets are more likely to receive coverage from U.S. television networks than nations with small armies. These findings are consistent with the Golan & Wanta (2003) study, which found the variable to be a significant predictor of international elections coverage by US television networks.

As evidenced by previous studies, population is a key variable in the prediction of international news coverage. Previous researchers have provided empirical evidence that indicates that there is a positive association between population and coverage (Dupree, 1971; Kim & Barnett, 1996). The current study affirms these findings as the population variable holds a significant positive association with coverage in all 10 Poisson models.

This suggests that nations with large populations, such as China, India, and the United Kingdom, are more likely to be covered than smaller nations such as Guyana, Armenia, or the United Arab Emirates.

The current study used the geographic size of a nation to measure its location in the hierarchy of nations. Based on previous studies that measured the association between geographic size and coverage (Kim & Barnett, 1996), the current study included the variable in its regression tests. The results of the different Poisson tests provide mixed results of the association between geographic size and coverage. The variable is found to be nonsignificant in 3 out of the 10 models, slightly significant ($<.05$) in 2 of the models, and very significant in 5 models. These results suggest that the variable is not reliable

enough on which to base any conclusions. The significance score alone does not provide enough information about the nature of the association between geographic size and coverage. The directions of the variable coefficient are negative in all five models in which the variable is highly significant. This would suggest a negative rather than a positive association between geographic size of nations and size. In other words, the results indicate that small rather than large nations are more likely to be covered by U.S. television networks. Again, I will argue that the variable is not reliable enough on which to base findings.

Summary

The results of the current study identify seven variables that are significantly associated with coverage (in all Poisson models). Although there is no one major association between the different variables, it could be argued that there are some general characteristics that might be linked to coverage of other countries. The results of the current study indicate that nations in which there is great instability, nations that are relevant to the United States, and large powerful nations are more likely to receive coverage than other nations that do not share these attributes.

The content analysis of network and CNN coverage in 1999 provides some support for this assumption. Such unstable nations as Russia, Israel, Indonesia, and India, all of which went through international military conflict during 1999, ranked at the top of coverage. Such nations as Israel, Cuba, Mexico, and Iraq, which are clearly relevant to the United States for either negative or positive reasons, ranked at the top of coverage. Finally, large and powerful nations such as Russia, China and the United Kingdom, ranked at the top of network coverage. The current study provides strong support for including country-based variables of instability, relevance to the United States, and

location in the hierarchy of nations in any future research on the determinants of international news coverage.

Contribution to Field

The current study aimed to provide a systematic examination of the country based variables that are associated with the amount of coverage nations receive from U.S. television news programs. I have identified several key contributions of the current study to the field.

The first contribution of the current study to the field of research on international news coverage is its use of the contextual approach as the sole approach for the investigation of international news coverage. Although many other studies utilized the contextual approach, most of them also incorporated event-oriented variables in their analysis (for example, Shoemaker et al., 1991). Approaching the research using the contextual rather than the event-oriented approach answers the question, what makes a country newsworthy rather than what makes an event newsworthy. The current study is one of the first to empirically test this question.

The second contribution of this research on international news coverage is its inclusion of CNN in its sample. The majority of previous studies in the field did not include the CNN network (Shoemaker et al., 1986; Chang, et al., 1987; Shoemaker, et al., 1991, Chang & Lee, 2001). As indicated by previous studies (Golan & Wanta, 2003), the nature and magnitude of international news coverage is substantially different between CNN and the three traditional networks. They found that CNN's coverage of international elections was much more extensive than that of the three networks. The current study assumes that the majority of future research on international news coverage will include CNN.

The third contribution to this research on international news coverage is found in its introduction of religious based variables as possible determinants of international news coverage. Despite its close association with coverage, religious affinity variables were left out of previous studies (with the exception of Shoemaker et al., 1991), which included one religious-affinity variable). The current study argues for the inclusion of religious-affinity variables as possible determinants of international news coverage.

A fourth contribution of the current study is found in the statistical tests that it used to measure the association between country characteristics and coverage. The current study provides one of the first multivariate examinations of the many different variables previously recognized as important predictors of international news coverage. The benchmark Shoemaker et al. (1991) study was one of the first to use multivariate regression in its synthesis of previous research and its attempt to create a model for predicting coverage. The current study argues that the regression test used by the authors has likely violated the assumptions of regression due to the nature of its dependent variable. The current study is the first to introduce the Poisson regression test to research on international news coverage. I argue that the Poisson distribution is the most appropriate for measurement when the dependent variable is coverage and is composed of count data based on the consensus of methodologists regarding the matter (Gill, 2001)

The fifth contribution of the current study to the field of international news coverage and to determinants of news coverage research is found in the seven variables that the study identifies as significantly associated with coverage. These seven variables--instability, distance from the United States, U.S. investment, U.S. aid, religious diversity, military expenditures, and population--proved significant in 10 Poisson models

and will likely prove to be significant in future studies. The author argues that these seven variables are key variables that ought to be incorporated in all future models of international news coverage.

Contribution to Industry

The current academic study aims to investigate the news factors that are associated with nation coverage by U.S. television network news programs. While the study is of an academic nature, its findings might be of interest to the commercial news industry. The current study identifies a series of country-based characteristics that make some nations more newsworthy than others. By identifying seven highly significant country characteristics that are associated with coverage, the current study might provide news makers, public opinion shapers, social critics, and industry leaders with an insight of how international news is shaped.

As demonstrated by the current study, television news programs (networks and CNN) hold some nations as more salient than other nations. Based on previous studies (Wanta & Hu, 1993; Salwen & Matera, 1992), I can assume that nations that receive higher levels of coverage might be viewed by the public as more important than nations that receive limited coverage. Thus, the agenda of nation saliency of the four networks might have a direct influence on public opinion. McNelly & Izcaray (1986) found that news exposure significantly related to positive feelings toward countries and to perceptions of those countries as successful. The current study might provide a better understanding of why Americans view certain nations in more positive terms than others based on their coverage in television news.

The current study might provide opinion makers and industry leaders with some insight into which nations were considered salient and which nations were not considered

salient. Such an understanding can help industry leaders and critics evaluate the impact that television news exposure had on the viewing public.

The current study went beyond the mere documentation of international news coverage on the four networks. In addition, it provided an empirical measurement of the country-based variables that made some nations more salient than others. The study identified seven different country-based variables that were found to have significant association with television coverage: instability, distance from the United States, U.S. investment, U.S. aid, religious diversity, military expenditures and population.

The identification of these country-based characteristics as possible determinants of television coverage might provide industry leaders with a better understanding of the international news selection process and might help them make decisions regarding the allocation of funds to their different news bureaus based on the likelihood of coverage.

The current study focused solely on television network news and did not include an examination of print media. However, comparing results from the current study with some previous studies might provide leaders in both industries (print and television) with some insight into the international news selection process. For example, Chang and Lee (1992) found that newspaper editors with conservative bents are more likely to view foreign events from an American perspective while more liberal editors view foreign events from an event-oriented perspective. The current study clearly indicates that television network news programs consider nations that are relevant to the United States to be more newsworthy than nations that are not relevant to the United States.

Limitations

Despite many attempts to perfect it, the current study is limited by several key factors. First, the study examines only coverage from 1999. Just as every other year in

history, the year of 1999 was unique and noncomparable to any other year in history. What might have been true of 1999 might not have been true of 2000 or 2001. Because the sample of the content analysis was limited to 1999, the sample cannot be generalized to any other year or period in history. An additional limitation of the sample of the content analysis was the fact that it included only four television network news programs. The study did not include any other cable news network besides CNN. The sample was also limited to television network news and did not include print, radio, the Internet or any other media outlets. As evidenced by previous studies (Shoemaker et al., 1991) news factors that are associated with coverage in one medium are not always associated with coverage in another medium.

An additional limitation of the current study had to do with its omission of some key variables from the regression analysis. The study argued for, but did not include, migration and travel from the United States in its regression analysis. In addition, the current study did not include any technology-based country characteristics, such as communication constraints, despite the fact that these variables were included in the Shoemaker et al. (1991) study. It could be argued that the Poisson model, as presented in the current study, is under-specified.

A key limitation was identified in regards to cultural and religious affinity variables. The failure of the current study to include such key cultural affinity variables such as language, migration and travel resulted in the inclusion of press freedom as the only measure of cultural affinity. It is likely that this measure failed to fully assess the level of cultural affinity between nations and the United States.

As noted in the methodology section, the religious diversity variable was somewhat undermined by its use of general religious categories such as Christian and Muslim. This approach failed to capture the important differences in denominational cleavages within nations and might have produced inaccurate measures of aggregate religious diversity

Finally, the current study is limited by its attempt to fully explain coverage based solely on country-based characteristics. Such an approach fails to account for incidental coverage that occurs as a result of an unusual event. For example, Turkey was over-covered by television in 1999 due to two deadly earthquakes that killed more than 17,000 people that year. It is likely that Turkey would have received no coverage if it was not for the earthquakes. Therefore, a model that is based solely on the contextual approach might mislead the study's readers. In addition, the study's contextual approach fails to take into account such logistical and gatekeeping factors that might influence news selection, such as the availability of news bureaus, the composition of the foreign correspondent team of each network, political ideology of gatekeepers of communication and constraints of the networks.

Future Research

The current study provides one of the first country-based systematic measurements of the different news factors that are associated with international news coverage. Both the study's key findings and limitations might serve as a basis for future research in the field of international news coverage. Here are some suggestions for future research in the field.

The current study is one of the first to measure the association between the characteristics of nations and their coverage on U.S. television network news. However, the current study does not include an examination of non-U.S. television news or

alternative media outlets, such as newspapers or the Internet. Future studies might examine the country-based variables that are associated with coverage in the different nations of the world (for example, South Korea or Germany) or choose to examine the association between country-based variables and coverage of international news in print, radio, or the Internet.

A second suggestion for future research is to incorporate additional country-based variables to the examination of coverage and country-based characteristics. These can include language, migration and travel variables, or such communication constraints variables as radio, newspaper and television diffusion (Shoemaker et al., 1991). Future studies might also improve on the measurement of the religious affinity variables. Researchers might choose to include Hofstede's cultural dimensions in coding of cultural and religious affinity variables.

The current study argued for the use of a Poisson regression for the measurement of association between country-based characteristics and coverage. The current study is one of the first to apply such GLM regression to the field on international news coverage. A future replication of the Shoemaker et al. (1991) study, which is considered by many to be a benchmark study, might use a Poisson rather than an OLS regression for its analysis. It is likely that the results of the replication will look very differently than those of the original, based on the difference in regression techniques.

Finally, future researchers might choose to apply qualitative research techniques to provide a better understanding of how country-based characteristics influence the newsworthiness of international events or countries. In-depth interviews with television

news producers or newspaper editors might provide a better understanding of why certain country-based variables make one nation more newsworthy than another nation.

APPENDIX A
OVERALL COUNTRY COVERAGE

Table A-1 Overall country coverage

Country	ABC	CBS	NBC	Total	CNN
1. Afghanistan	8	6	3	17	16
2. Albania	17	5	6	28	21
3. Algeria	1	0	1	2	2
4. Andorra	0	0	0	0	0
5. Angola	1	0	0	1	5
6. Antigua and Barbuda	0	0	0	0	0
7. Argentina	2	2	0	4	3
8. Armenia	2	2	1	5	4
9. Australia	4	4	3	11	12
10. Austria	3	5	4	12	7
11. Azerbaijan	0	0	0	0	0
12. Bahamas	0	0	0	0	0
13. Bahrain	1	0	0	1	1
14. Bangladesh	1	0	0	1	0
15. Barbados	0	0	0	0	0
16. Belarus	0	0	0	0	1
17. Belgium	1	0	0	1	1
18. Belize	0	0	0	0	0
19. Benin	0	0	0	0	0
20. Bhutan	0	0	0	0	0
21. Bolivia	0	0	0	0	0
22. Bosnia and Herzegovina	11	2	4	17	9
23. Botswana	0	0	0	0	0
24. Brazil	1	2	2	5	2
25. Brunei Darussalam	0	0	0	0	0
26. Bulgaria	1	2	1	4	2
27. Burkina Faso	0	0	0	0	0
28. Burundi	0	0	0	0	2
29. Cambodia	1	0	0	1	0
30. Cameroon	0	0	0	0	0
31. Canada	8	12	6	26	9
32. Cape Verde	0	0	0	0	0
33. Central African Republic	0	0	0	0	0
34. Chad	0	0	0	0	0

Table A-1. continued.

Country	ABC	CBS	NBC	Total	CNN
35. Chile	0	0	0	0	0
36. China	57	59	37	153	130
37. Colombia	12	20	11	43	33
38. Comoros	0	0	0	0	0
39. Congo	0	0	0	0	0
40. Costa Rica	0	1	1	2	1
41. Côte d'Ivoire	0	0	0	0	0
42. Croatia	1	0	0	1	5
43. Cuba	16	21	18	55	45
44. Cyprus	0	0	0	0	0
45. Czech Republic	1	2	1	4	5
46. North Korea	8	4	2	14	13
47. Democratic Republic of the Congo	0	0	0	0	0
48. Denmark	0	0	0	0	0
49. Djibouti	0	0	0	0	0
50. Dominica	0	0	0	0	0
51. Dominican Republic	0	0	0	0	0
52. Ecuador	0	1	2	3	4
53. Egypt	6	5	5	16	20
54. El Salvador	0	0	0	0	2
55. Equatorial Guinea	0	0	0	0	0
56. Eritrea	0	0	0	0	3
57. Estonia	0	0	0	0	0
58. Ethiopia	0	0	0	0	3
59. Fiji	0	0	0	0	0
60. Finland	1	0	0	1	1
61. France	12	8	4	24	27
62. Gabon	0	0	0	0	0
63. Gambia	0	0	0	0	0
64. Georgia	1	2	0	3	2
65. Germany	9	3	4	16	9
66. Ghana	0	0	0	0	0
67. Greece	1	3	4	8	9
68. Grenada	0	0	0	0	0
69. Guatemala	0	0	0	0	5
70. Guinea	0	0	0	0	0
71. Guinea-Bissau	0	0	0	0	0
72. Guyana	0	0	0	0	0
73. Haiti	0	0	0	0	1
74. Honduras	1	0	1	2	4
75. Hungary	2	3	1	6	1
76. Iceland	1	0	0	1	1

Table A-1. continued.

Country	ABC	CBS	NBC	Total	CNN
77. India	12	16	11	39	71
78. Indonesia	19	19	11	49	62
79. Iran	8	6	3	17	18
80. Iraq	28	32	17	77	82
81. Ireland	1	0	0	1	1
82. Israel	32	38	26	96	113
83. Italy	15	9	10	34	22
84. Jamaica	0	0	0	0	0
85. Japan	20	11	5	36	33
86. Jordan	10	8	8	26	20
87. Kazakhstan	1	0	0	1	0
88. Kenya	2	3	3	8	6
89. Kiribati	0	1	0	1	0
90. Kuwait	0	0	0	0	0
91. Kyrgyzstan	0	0	0	0	0
92. Laos	0	0	0	0	0
93. Latvia	0	0	0	0	0
94. Lebanon	0	3	0	3	10
95. Lesotho	0	0	0	0	0
96. Liberia	0	0	0	0	0
97. Libya	1	2	1	4	9
98. Liechtenstein	0	0	0	0	0
99. Lithuania	0	0	0	0	0
100. Luxembourg	0	0	0	0	0
101. Madagascar	0	1	0	1	0
102. Malawi	0	0	0	0	0
103. Malaysia	2	0	0	2	1
104. Maldives	0	0	0	0	0
105. Mali	0	0	0	0	0
106. Malta	0	0	0	0	0
107. Marshall Islands	0	0	0	0	0
108. Mauritania	0	0	0	0	0
109. Mauritius	0	0	0	0	0
110. Mexico	17	20	14	51	36
111. Micronesia	0	0	0	0	0
112. Monaco	4	2	2	8	3
113. Mongolia	0	0	0	0	0
114. Morocco	2	2	3	7	3
115. Mozambique	0	0	0	0	0
116. Myanmar	0	0	0	0	1
117. Namibia	0	0	0	0	0
118. Nauru	0	0	0	0	0

Table A-1. continued.

Country	ABC	CBS	NBC	Total	CNN
119. Nepal	0	0	0	0	0
120. Netherlands	2	0	0	2	2
121. New Zealand	3	1	0	4	4
122. Nicaragua	1	2	1	4	3
123. Niger	0	0	0	0	0
124. Nigeria	1	0	0	1	9
125. Norway	2	3	2	7	4
126. Oman	0	0	0	0	0
127. Pakistan	11	11	7	29	50
128. Palau	0	0	0	0	0
129. Panama	2	2	5	9	6
130. Papua New Guinea	0	0	0	0	2
131. Paraguay	0	0	0	0	0
132. Peru	0	0	0	0	1
133. Philippines	1	0	0	1	5
134. Poland	8	4	4	16	8
135. Portugal	0	0	0	0	0
136. Qatar	0	0	0	0	0
137. S. Korea	12	6	3	21	10
138. Moldova	0	0	0	0	0
139. Romania	1	4	0	5	2
140. Russia	61	66	54	181	184
141. Rwanda	1	0	0	1	1
142. Saint Kitts and Nevis	0	0	0	0	0
143. Saint Lucia	0	0	0	0	0
144. Saint Vincent Grenadines	0	0	0	0	0
145. Samoa	0	0	0	0	0
146. San Marino	0	0	0	0	0
147. Sao Tome and Principe	0	0	0	0	0
148. Saudi Arabia	0	1	0	1	2
149. Senegal	0	0	0	0	0
150. Seychelles	0	0	0	0	0
151. Sierra Leone	4	2	1	7	10
152. Singapore	2	0	0	2	0
153. Slovakia	0	0	0	0	0
154. Slovenia	0	0	0	0	0
155. Solomon Islands	0	0	0	0	0
156. Somalia	0	0	0	0	0
157. South Africa	7	7	4	18	17
158. Spain	2	2	1	5	5

Table A-1 continued.

Country	ABC	CBS	NBC	Total	CNN
159. Sri Lanka	1	0	0	1	5
160. Sudan	2	3	1	6	0
161. Suriname	0	0	0	0	0
162. Swaziland	0	0	0	0	9
163. Sweden	0	1	0	1	9
164. Switzerland	4	1	1	6	6
165. Syria	3	4	3	10	16
166. Tajikistan	0	0	0	0	0
167. Thailand	3	2	0	5	4
168. Macedonia	6	5	2	13	14
169. Togo	0	0	0	0	0
170. Tonga	0	0	0	0	0
171. Trinidad and Tobago	0	0	0	0	0
172. Tunisia	0	0	0	0	0
173. Turkey	19	16	16	51	40
174. Turkmenistan	0	0	0	0	0
175. Uganda	3	3	5	11	3
176. Ukraine	0	0	0	0	0
177. United Arab Emirates	0	0	0	0	0
178. UK	41	41	26	108	90
179. Tanzania	2	4	3	9	6
180. USA	-	-	-	-	-
181. Uruguay	0	0	0	0	0
182. Uzbekistan	0	1	0	1	1
183. Vanuatu	0	0	0	0	0
184. Venezuela	5	7	1	13	15
185. Vietnam	2	0	1	3	6
186. Yemen	0	0	0	0	1
187. Yugoslavia	190	194	155	539	264
188. Zambia	0	0	0	0	1
189. Zimbabwe	0	0	0	0	1
190. Palestinian Authority	9	11	9	29	40
Total	769	753	539	2061	1751

APPENDIX B
NATIONAL DEFENSE COUNCIL INSTABILITY DATA

Table B-1. National Defense Council instability data

Year	Rank	Country	Political	Military	Economic	Social	Total
1998	1	Afghanistan	25.00	25.00	22.92	25.00	97.92
1998	2	Iraq	25.00	23.21	25.00	20.83	94.05
1998	3	Sudan	25.00	25.00	20.83	22.92	93.75
1998	4	North Korea	25.00	21.43	25.00	20.83	92.26
1998	5	Burma	25.00	23.21	25.00	18.75	91.96
1998	6	Somalia	20.45	23.21	22.92	25.00	91.59
1998	7	Angola	18.18	25.00	18.75	25.00	86.93
1998	8	Libya	25.00	21.43	16.67	22.92	86.01
1998	9	Cambodia	18.18	23.21	22.92	20.83	85.15
1998	10	Sierra Leone	22.73	16.07	20.83	25.00	84.63
1998	11	Iran	22.73	23.21	18.75	18.75	83.44
1998	12	Serbia/Montenegro	25.00	23.21	25.00	8.33	81.55
1998	13	Congo (Kinshasa)	20.45	21.43	20.83	18.75	81.47
1998	14	Burundi	22.73	16.07	14.58	25.00	78.38
1998	15	Indonesia	20.45	17.86	18.75	18.75	75.81
1998	16	Liberia	15.91	17.86	18.75	22.92	75.43
1998	17	Tajikistan	22.73	21.43	14.58	16.67	75.41
1998	18	China	25.00	25.00	10.42	14.58	75.00
1998	19	Russia	15.91	23.21	20.83	14.58	74.54
1998	20	Bosnia	18.18	25.00	14.58	16.67	74.43
1998	21	Laos	20.45	17.86	12.50	22.92	73.73
1998	22	Nigeria	18.18	17.86	16.67	20.83	73.54
1998	23	Syria	22.73	23.21	10.42	16.67	73.02
1998	24	Tanzania	22.73	16.07	14.58	18.75	72.13
1998	25	Saudi Arabia	22.73	19.64	14.58	14.58	71.54
1998	27	Eritrea	18.18	17.86	14.58	20.83	71.46
1998	26	Uganda	18.18	17.86	12.50	22.92	71.46
1998	28	Yemen	15.91	17.86	18.75	18.75	71.27
1998	29	Morocco	25.00	16.07	10.42	18.75	70.24
1998	30	Cuba	22.73	19.64	18.75	8.33	69.45
1998	31	Chad	13.64	16.07	14.58	25.00	69.29
1998	32	Kenya	15.91	17.86	18.75	16.67	69.18
1998	33	Pakistan	13.64	21.43	10.42	22.92	68.40
1998	34	Mozambique	15.91	12.50	14.58	25.00	67.99
1998	35	Congo (Brazaville)	18.18	14.29	16.67	18.75	67.88
1998	36	Guinea-Bissau	13.64	14.29	18.75	20.83	67.51
1998	37	Azerbaijan	22.73	21.43	14.58	8.33	67.07
1998	38	Guinea	20.45	8.93	14.58	22.92	66.88
1998	39	Djibuti	20.45	10.71	14.58	20.83	66.59
1998	40	Rwanda	15.91	21.43	8.33	20.83	66.50
1998	43	Vietnam	22.73	12.50	14.58	16.67	66.48
1998	44t	Mauritania	18.18	10.71	14.58	22.92	66.40
1998	44t	Egypt	18.18	23.21	8.33	16.67	66.40
1998	41t	Zambia	15.91	10.71	18.75	20.83	66.21

Table B-1 continued.

Year	Rank	Country	Political	Military	Economic	Social	Total
1998	41t	Gambia	15.91	10.71	16.67	22.92	66.21
1998	46	Algeria	22.73	16.07	14.58	12.50	65.88
1998	47	Ethiopia	11.36	17.86	14.58	20.83	64.64
1998	48	Togo	18.18	10.71	14.58	20.83	64.31
1998	49	Lebanon	15.91	23.21	10.42	14.58	64.12
1998	50	Senegal	13.64	12.50	14.58	22.92	63.64
1998	51t	Bhutan	22.73	7.14	10.42	22.92	63.20
1998	51t	Bahrain	22.73	19.64	10.42	10.42	63.20
1998	51t	Turkmenistan	22.73	7.14	16.67	16.67	63.20
1998	54	Peru	15.91	17.86	12.50	16.67	62.93
1998	55	Zimbabwe	11.36	16.07	18.75	16.67	62.85
1998	56	Uzbekistan	25.00	12.50	12.50	12.50	62.50
1998	57	Cote D'Ivoire	15.91	10.71	12.50	22.92	62.04
1998	58	Cameroon	15.91	12.50	12.50	20.83	61.74
1998	59	Niger	13.64	12.50	10.42	25.00	61.55
1998	60	Georgia	15.91	21.43	16.67	6.25	60.25
1998	61	Turkey	11.36	19.64	16.67	12.50	60.17
1998	62	Burkina Faso	11.36	12.50	10.42	25.00	59.28
1998	63	Swaziland	15.91	8.93	10.42	22.92	58.17
1998	64	Croatia	22.73	25.00	4.17	6.25	58.14
1998	65	Malawi	9.09	8.93	16.67	22.92	57.60
1998	66	Israel	11.36	23.21	12.50	10.42	57.49
		Central African					
1998	67	Republic	9.09	12.50	14.58	20.83	57.01
1998	68	Belarus	25.00	10.71	14.58	6.25	56.55
1998	69	Tunisia	22.73	10.71	12.50	10.42	56.36
1998	70	Armenia	15.91	21.43	14.58	4.17	56.09
1998	71	Moldova	6.82	19.64	18.75	10.42	55.63
1998	72	Honduras	4.55	8.93	20.83	20.83	55.14
1998	73	Nicaragua	6.82	10.71	16.67	20.83	55.03
1998	74	Benin	4.55	10.71	16.67	22.92	54.84
1998	75	Bangladesh	11.36	14.29	8.33	20.83	54.82
1998	76	Albania	11.36	17.86	16.67	8.33	54.22
1998	77	Oman	20.45	10.71	10.42	12.50	54.09
1998	78	Nepal	11.36	8.93	10.42	22.92	53.63
1998	79	Kyrgyz Republic	15.91	12.50	12.50	12.50	53.41
1998	80	Jordan	18.18	14.29	12.50	8.33	53.30
1998	81	Lesotho	9.09	10.71	12.50	20.83	53.14
1998	82	Haiti	4.55	12.50	14.58	20.83	52.46
1998	83	Colombia	11.36	16.07	14.58	10.42	52.44
1998	84	Comoros	6.82	14.29	14.58	16.67	52.35
1998	85	India	9.09	16.07	8.33	18.75	52.25
1998	86	Papua New Guinea	6.82	16.07	10.42	18.75	52.06
1998	87	Kazakhstan	20.45	10.71	10.42	10.42	52.00
1998	88	Mali	6.82	5.36	16.67	22.92	51.76
1998	89	Ghana	9.09	7.14	14.58	20.83	51.65
1998	90	Brunei	22.73	10.71	6.25	10.42	50.11
1998	91	Sri Lanka	9.09	17.86	14.58	8.33	49.86
1998	92	Malaysia	18.18	12.50	14.58	4.17	49.43
1998	93	Namibia	6.82	7.14	12.50	22.92	49.38
1998	94	Madagascar	4.55	8.93	12.50	22.92	48.89
1998	95	Ecuador	9.09	14.29	12.50	12.50	48.38
1998	96	Gabon	9.09	7.14	12.50	18.75	47.48

Table B-1. continued.

Year	Rank	Country	Political	Military	Economic	Social	Total
1998	97	Cape Verde	6.82	7.14	14.58	18.75	47.29
1998	98	Venezuela	11.36	10.71	12.50	12.50	47.08
1998	99	Mexico	9.09	14.29	10.42	12.50	46.29
1998	100	South Africa	4.55	14.29	10.42	16.67	45.91
1998	101	Mongolia	6.82	3.57	16.67	18.75	45.81
1998	102	Thailand	4.55	16.07	14.58	10.42	45.62
		United Arab					
1998	103	Emirates	18.18	10.71	8.33	8.33	45.56
1998	104	Kuwait	13.64	12.50	8.33	10.42	44.89
1998	105	Cyprus	9.09	19.64	8.33	6.25	43.32
1998	106	Botswana	4.55	7.14	12.50	18.75	42.94
1998	107	Brazil	4.55	8.93	16.67	12.50	42.64
1998	108	Guatemala	4.55	10.71	8.33	18.75	42.34
1998	109	Maldives	11.36	5.36	8.33	16.67	41.72
1998	110	Bolivia	4.55	5.36	14.58	16.67	41.15
1998	111	Qatar	13.64	10.71	8.33	8.33	41.02
1998	112	Guyana	4.55	10.71	12.50	12.50	40.26
1998	113	Philippines	2.27	10.71	14.58	12.50	40.07
1998	114	Singapore	15.91	8.93	10.42	4.17	39.42
1998	115	Panama	6.82	10.71	10.42	10.42	38.37
1998	116	Dominican Republic	9.09	7.14	8.33	12.50	37.07
1998	117	Belize	4.55	5.36	12.50	14.58	36.99
1998	118	El Salvador	2.27	7.14	10.42	16.67	36.50
1998	119	Argentina	6.82	10.71	10.42	8.33	36.28
1998	120	Macedonia	4.55	12.50	12.50	6.25	35.80
1998	121	Romania	4.55	5.36	12.50	12.50	34.90
1998	122	Suriname	6.82	7.14	10.42	10.42	34.79
1998	123	Paraguay	2.27	7.14	10.42	14.58	34.42
1998	124	Taiwan	6.82	16.07	6.25	4.17	33.31
1998	125	Bulgaria	11.36	7.14	12.50	2.08	33.09
1998	126	South Korea	6.82	12.50	10.42	2.08	31.82
1998	127	Slovak Republic	6.82	5.36	10.42	8.33	30.93
1998	128	Ukraine	6.82	7.14	8.33	8.33	30.63
1998	129	Chile	2.27	10.71	8.33	8.33	29.65
1998	130	Jamaica	4.55	3.57	16.67	4.17	28.95
1998	131	Mauritius	4.55	7.14	10.42	6.25	28.35
1998	132	Costa Rica	0.00	5.36	12.50	8.33	26.19
1998	133	Greece	6.82	12.50	6.25	0.00	25.57
1998	134	Italy	2.27	10.71	10.42	0.00	23.40
1998	135	Uruguay	2.27	3.57	10.42	6.25	22.51
1998	136	Hungary	4.55	5.36	10.42	2.08	22.40
1998	137	United Kingdom	2.27	17.86	2.08	0.00	22.21
1998	138	Latvia	4.55	8.93	6.25	2.08	21.81
1998	139	Ireland	4.55	14.29	2.08	0.00	20.91
1998	140	France	4.55	10.71	4.17	0.00	19.43
1998	141i	Grenada	0.00	3.57	8.33	6.25	18.15
		Trinidad and					
1998	141i	Tobago	0.00	3.57	6.25	8.33	18.15
1998	143	Spain	2.27	10.71	4.17	0.00	17.15
1998	144	Canada	0.00	10.71	4.17	2.08	16.96
1998	145	United States	0.00	12.50	4.17	0.00	16.67
1998	146	Lithuania	2.27	3.57	8.33	2.08	16.26
1998	147i	Czech Republic	2.27	5.36	6.25	2.08	15.96
1998	147i	Slovenia	2.27	5.36	6.25	2.08	15.96

Table B-1 continued.

Year	Rank	Country	Political	Military	Economic	Social	Total
1998	149	Japan	0.00	3.57	8.33	2.08	13.99
1998	150	Estonia	2.27	5.36	4.17	2.08	13.88
1998	151	Poland	0.00	5.36	6.25	2.08	13.69
1998	152	Portugal	2.27	7.14	2.08	0.00	11.50
1998	153	Sweden	0.00	7.14	4.17	0.00	11.31
1998	154	Germany	4.55	5.36	0.00	0.00	9.90
1998	155t	Finland	0.00	5.36	4.17	0.00	9.52
1998	155t	Switzerland	0.00	5.36	4.17	0.00	9.52
1998	157	New Zealand	0.00	3.57	4.17	0.00	7.74
1998	158	Netherlands	0.00	5.36	2.08	0.00	7.44
1998	159	Belgium	0.00	7.14	0.00	0.00	7.14
1998	160	Australia	0.00	3.57	2.08	0.00	5.65
1998	161t	Austria	0.00	5.36	0.00	0.00	5.36
1998	161t	Denmark	0.00	5.36	0.00	0.00	5.36
1998	161t	Norway	0.00	5.36	0.00	0.00	5.36
1998	164	Iceland	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1999	1	Afghanistan	24.97	22.05	23.82	19.85	90.69
1999	2	Somalia	24.15	25.00	21.97	17.78	88.91
1999	3	Iraq	24.57	24.09	22.82	14.19	85.67
1999	4	Chechnya	23.70	23.91	21.55	15.70	84.86
1999	5	Angola	18.64	23.84	20.36	18.00	80.85
1999	6	Eritrea	21.38	23.74	16.01	19.06	80.20
1999	7	Serbia	20.70	20.17	23.03	14.80	78.70
1999	8	East Timor	19.37	17.77	21.93	19.08	78.15
1999	9	Congo (Kinshasa)	19.18	18.15	21.38	19.32	78.03
1999	10	Sierra Leone	16.32	24.11	15.89	20.72	77.04
1999	11	Ethiopia	18.36	25.00	13.80	19.77	76.94
1999	12	Burma	24.05	23.28	15.11	12.87	75.31
1999	13	North Korea	22.33	23.44	22.35	6.57	74.69
1999	14	Montenegro	16.74	20.04	21.75	15.18	73.70
1999	15	Burundi	18.65	24.58	15.76	14.43	73.43
1999	16	Kosovo	18.79	20.17	21.19	12.93	73.07
1999	17	Pakistan	22.44	23.75	12.59	14.19	72.96
1999	18	Comoros	22.50	18.67	14.30	17.12	72.59
1999	19	Tajikistan	19.61	24.69	17.41	9.73	71.45
1999	20	Sudan	24.86	18.49	12.34	15.66	71.35
1999	21	Congo (Brazzaville)	18.44	21.63	13.62	17.45	71.14
1999	22	Guinea-Bissau	16.03	18.21	16.14	20.15	70.52
1999	23	Indonesia	20.00	21.64	16.34	11.76	69.73
1999	24	Rwanda	18.63	24.58	14.57	11.55	69.33
1999	25	Liberia	15.30	14.40	19.14	19.54	68.39
1999	26	Nigeria	16.70	22.73	15.38	13.18	68.00
1999	27	China	18.30	23.44	14.07	11.85	67.66
1999	28	Cuba	21.08	19.23	21.23	5.82	67.36
1999	29	Iran	20.90	24.09	15.27	6.95	67.21
1999	30	Yemen	18.94	17.32	14.22	16.47	66.95
1999	31	Laos	18.02	16.37	17.12	14.68	66.21
1999	32	India	11.65	23.75	13.44	17.09	65.94
1999	33	Uganda	14.30	24.58	13.30	13.54	65.73
1999	34	Bosnia	14.75	18.40	18.69	13.43	65.27
1999	35	Turkey	17.20	24.53	17.05	5.91	64.69
1999	36	Uzbekistan	16.01	15.82	18.10	14.45	64.38
1999	37	Bangladesh	14.63	19.16	14.13	15.71	63.63
1999	38	Colombia	15.78	23.59	15.20	9.04	63.62

Table B-1. continued.

Year	Rank	Country	Political	Military	Economic	Social	Total
1999	39	Cambodia	16.90	17.90	12.41	16.20	63.41
1999	40	Azerbaijan	19.88	18.49	13.47	11.44	63.28
1999	41	Haiti	14.47	15.95	15.60	15.31	61.33
1999	42	Russia	16.70	22.27	17.10	4.99	61.06
1999	43	Niger	15.18	14.47	14.00	17.40	61.05
1999	44	Chad	17.93	11.20	13.86	17.98	60.97
		West Bank and					
1999	45	Gaza	16.83	23.96	13.00	7.14	60.93
1999	46	Algeria	19.77	18.43	13.62	9.01	60.83
1999	47	Lebanon	16.57	24.09	14.66	5.20	60.52
1999	48	Papua New Guinea	13.00	14.79	15.77	16.94	60.50
1999	49	Georgia	16.13	21.58	13.58	8.87	60.16
1999	50	Armenia	17.90	18.62	13.03	10.47	60.02
1999	51	Syria	20.87	20.35	11.17	7.32	59.71
		Central African					
1999	52	Republic	14.52	17.99	12.85	14.32	59.68
1999	53	Burkina Faso	11.23	13.61	14.50	19.83	59.17
1999	54	Kyrgyz Republic	12.02	12.09	17.53	16.46	58.10
1999	55	Guinea	17.41	9.52	12.27	18.17	57.37
1999	56	Nepal	12.82	13.25	13.05	18.20	57.31
1999	57	Mauritania	19.81	10.66	12.09	14.59	57.14
1999	58	Zimbabwe	12.19	16.68	18.08	10.14	57.08
1999	59	Kazakhstan	14.61	10.45	16.59	15.39	57.04
1999	60	Sri Lanka	14.76	20.47	12.84	8.95	57.03
1999	61	Senegal	10.00	21.42	12.53	13.05	57.00
1999	62	Egypt	19.93	18.56	10.60	7.62	56.70
1999	63	Equatorial Guinea	17.90	11.79	10.03	16.38	56.10
1999	64	Kenya	11.99	15.73	12.20	14.69	54.61
1999	65	Togo	14.36	11.23	13.41	15.59	54.60
1999	66	Ghana	15.63	10.78	13.02	14.90	54.33
1999	67	Cameroon	11.55	16.21	11.96	14.06	53.78
1999	68	Cyprus	12.78	20.53	9.60	10.74	53.65
1999	69	Bahrain	13.10	18.05	9.25	13.09	53.49
1999	70	Ecuador	11.44	14.48	17.03	10.22	53.16
1999	71	Moldova	13.81	12.27	15.91	11.14	53.15
1999	72	Libya	19.36	15.33	13.64	4.57	52.90
1999	73	Peru	15.83	16.58	11.20	9.29	52.89
1999	74	Albania	13.86	15.58	13.62	9.18	52.25
1999	75	Turkmenistan	17.26	9.45	16.09	9.28	52.08
1999	76	Mozambique	13.56	7.97	12.51	17.59	51.62
1999	77	Zambia	14.75	10.92	12.84	13.09	51.60
1999	78	Namibia	8.74	15.96	12.90	13.33	50.93
1999	79	Israel	11.95	24.09	10.30	3.20	49.54
1999	80	Cote D'Ivoire	12.56	11.23	11.74	13.85	49.39
1999	81	Belarus	16.68	8.54	17.99	5.90	49.10
1999	82	Ukraine	13.60	8.54	16.77	10.19	49.09
1999	83	Djibuti	13.47	9.36	12.40	13.73	48.96
1999	84	Croatia	10.68	18.40	10.83	8.58	48.49
1999	85	Philippines	10.69	18.69	11.37	7.19	47.94
1999	86	Guatemala	13.93	11.84	11.81	9.86	47.44
1999	87	South Africa	7.94	16.11	13.04	10.25	47.33
1999	88	Gambia	17.13	3.50	12.41	13.66	46.70
1999	89	Lesotho	12.32	11.68	13.45	9.19	46.64
1999	90	Mali	11.67	6.24	13.40	14.65	45.95

Table B-1 continued.

Year	Rank	Country	Political	Military	Economic	Social	Total
1999	91	Nicaragua	10.89	14.80	11.22	9.03	45.94
1999	92	Swaziland	9.42	9.72	10.62	15.83	45.59
1999	93	Thailand	12.90	15.59	10.60	5.89	44.99
1999	94	Benin	9.59	6.04	12.37	16.93	44.93
1999	95	Vietnam	17.81	4.31	11.81	10.57	44.50
1999	96	Mexico	10.93	15.33	11.38	6.77	44.41
1999	97	Macedonia	8.35	9.54	13.73	12.53	44.14
1999	98	Tanzania	11.83	10.92	12.74	7.47	42.96
1999	99	Brazil	11.49	7.79	15.50	8.12	42.90
1999	100	South Korea	11.37	18.44	8.54	3.98	42.33
1999	101	Venezuela	12.87	8.36	14.52	6.45	42.20
1999	102	Paraguay	12.62	5.62	12.13	11.53	41.91
1999	103	Romania	12.18	4.80	14.23	10.67	41.88
1999	104	Jordan	12.57	13.46	12.98	2.84	41.84
1999	105	Suriname	11.82	3.62	18.31	7.72	41.46
1999	106	Morocco	13.67	8.69	11.66	7.43	41.45
1999	107	Mauritius	7.60	8.53	11.85	13.16	41.14
1999	108	Guyana	6.74	13.09	12.04	8.76	40.63
1999	109	Madagascar	7.81	5.79	11.57	14.53	39.70
1999	110	Malaysia	11.91	13.09	9.40	5.16	39.56
1999	111	El Salvador	11.80	8.89	10.62	8.22	39.53
1999	112	Bulgaria	11.19	4.80	13.92	9.46	39.36
1999	113	Saudi Arabia	14.39	8.07	12.59	4.06	39.11
1999	114	Malawi	7.85	3.97	13.42	13.84	39.08
1999	115	Slovak Republic	9.74	6.66	11.57	9.58	37.55
1999	116	Bolivia	10.71	0.89	12.77	13.01	37.38
1999	117	Honduras	10.40	5.93	14.64	5.99	36.96
		United Arab					
1999	118	Emirates	14.94	5.11	11.06	5.80	36.92
1999	119	Taiwan	8.46	13.84	9.53	4.05	35.88
1999	120	Spain	12.08	11.09	9.07	3.21	35.46
1999	121	Tunisia	13.81	4.83	11.17	5.45	35.26
1999	122	Bhutan	11.83	1.88	13.26	8.06	35.03
1999	123	Panama	8.09	11.06	9.47	4.99	33.61
1999	124	Gabon	9.04	2.97	10.63	10.86	33.50
1999	125	Ireland	7.96	15.04	5.91	4.08	33.00
1999	126	Grenada	4.75	1.35	11.75	14.50	32.35
1999	127	United Kingdom	4.46	16.68	7.59	3.54	32.26
1999	128	Argentina	11.84	3.53	11.48	5.26	32.12
1999	129	Brunei	10.76	4.69	9.52	7.12	32.08
1999	130	Maldives	11.00	1.88	8.64	10.39	31.91
1999	131	Qatar	12.45	4.98	9.52	4.52	31.47
1999	132	Botswana	7.19	2.89	11.40	9.98	31.46
1999	133	Greece	12.07	6.51	9.45	3.22	31.25
1999	134	Latvia	10.86	2.90	11.60	5.86	31.22
1999	135	Dominican Republic	10.48	2.35	10.79	6.75	30.38
1999	136	Oman	9.33	2.47	13.11	5.36	30.26
1999	137	Mongolia	6.51	4.45	13.15	4.58	28.70
1999	138	Jamaica	6.47	2.35	12.36	7.18	28.36
1999	139	Kuwait	12.18	3.98	8.56	3.53	28.24
1999	140	Chile	11.85	0.89	11.11	4.28	28.13
1999	141	Cape Verde	4.86	2.76	12.99	6.94	27.54
1999	142	Belize	4.98	1.20	12.58	7.92	26.68
1999	143	Lithuania	6.21	2.77	11.73	4.96	25.67

Table B-1 continued.

Year	Rank	Country	Political	Military	Economic	Social	Total
1999	144	Czech Republic	7.75	2.93	9.49	5.23	25.39
1999	145	Poland	8.09	1.93	11.09	4.27	25.37
1999	146	Uruguay	6.37	0.63	11.40	6.86	25.26
		Trinidad and					
1999	147	Tobago	7.25	1.35	9.37	6.65	24.62
1999	148	Singapore	8.48	3.18	7.86	4.81	24.32
1999	149	Japan	5.44	5.84	9.90	3.02	24.20
1999	150	Estonia	4.09	5.51	8.94	5.60	24.13
1999	151	Italy	5.80	6.64	8.64	2.84	23.93
1999	152	France	6.80	6.04	8.28	2.55	23.66
1999	153	Hungary	4.71	5.66	9.06	3.97	23.41
1999	154	Costa Rica	5.32	1.20	11.97	3.32	21.81
1999	155	Barbados	4.26	1.35	9.84	5.50	20.96
1999	156	Slovenia	4.79	2.55	9.23	3.63	20.20
1999	157	Portugal	6.16	0.44	9.08	4.28	19.96
1999	158	United States	0.69	6.19	7.62	2.52	17.04
1999	159	Germany	3.67	2.93	7.54	2.79	16.92
1999	160	Canada	1.17	4.34	7.25	3.67	16.43
1999	161	New Zealand	1.67	3.05	9.35	2.29	16.36
1999	162	Australia	2.56	4.05	7.75	1.63	15.98
1999	163	Austria	5.65	1.29	6.45	2.53	15.91
1999	164	Belgium	4.36	1.44	5.88	4.13	15.81
1999	165	Denmark	2.82	4.74	5.59	2.42	15.57
1999	166	Switzerland	2.94	1.29	4.89	4.06	13.17
1999	167	Finland	2.50	0.13	7.25	2.43	12.31
1999	168	Norway	2.57	1.77	5.58	2.15	12.07
1999	169	Netherlands	0.96	1.44	5.95	3.57	11.92
1999	170	Iceland	3.03	1.64	6.28	0.94	11.89
1999	171	Sweden	1.76	1.13	6.10	1.98	10.97
1999	172	Luxembourg	3.16	0.16	3.84	1.97	9.12
2000	1	Afghanistan	25.00	25.00	24.10	25.00	99.10
2000	2	Somalia	24.31	25.00	17.01	23.67	89.99
2000	3	Congo (Kinshasa)	20.16	23.89	22.55	20.58	87.18
2000	4	Sierra Leone	17.49	25.00	18.35	25.00	85.84
2000	5	Iraq	25.00	21.04	17.18	22.59	85.82
2000	6	Eritrea	23.62	21.98	19.65	18.68	83.94
2000	7	Burma	24.31	25.00	18.10	16.35	83.76
2000	8	Pakistan	24.31	25.00	18.46	15.56	83.33
2000	9	Burundi	20.16	25.00	21.11	16.61	82.88
2000	10	Ethiopia	15.51	25.00	18.60	22.51	81.63
2000	11	Comoros	24.31	20.58	19.93	15.53	80.35
2000	12	Egypt	21.64	21.04	18.38	17.69	78.75
2000	13	Angola	20.16	21.98	13.41	21.54	77.09
2000	14	Guinea-Bissau	16.80	21.04	16.42	22.21	76.48
2000	15	Haiti	14.82	25.00	19.33	15.77	74.92
2000	16	Cambodia	14.13	21.04	17.44	22.09	74.70
2000	17	Rwanda	20.16	21.04	17.90	15.33	74.43
2000	18	Nigeria	16.21	25.00	17.25	12.95	71.41
2000	19	East Timor	15.51	19.94	17.01	18.52	70.98
2000	20	Sudan	25.00	18.03	18.62	9.31	70.96
2000	21	Indonesia	20.26	25.00	17.45	8.17	70.88
2000	22	Uganda	14.82	25.00	18.23	12.65	70.70
2000	23	North Korea	18.28	18.03	20.92	13.00	70.22
2000	24	Turkey	19.57	25.00	21.63	3.33	69.53

Table B-1 continued.

Year	Rank	Country	Political	Military	Economic	Social	Total
2000	25	Yemen	15.51	21.68	15.09	17.03	69.31
2000	26	Mauritania	18.87	15.35	17.13	17.01	68.36
2000	27	Colombia	18.18	25.00	18.84	6.00	68.02
2000	28	India	8.79	25.00	18.84	15.01	67.64
2000	29	Yugoslavia	20.26	21.04	18.43	7.89	67.62
2000	30	Chad	16.21	18.37	20.09	12.65	67.32
2000	31	Kosovo	18.87	17.73	17.01	12.98	66.59
2000	32	Iran	18.28	25.00	19.24	4.03	66.55
2000	33	Liberia	11.46	13.31	18.07	23.25	66.09
2000	34	China	17.59	21.04	17.37	9.72	65.73
2000	35	Syria	19.57	21.04	18.20	6.24	65.05
2000	36	Tajikistan	19.57	25.00	15.43	4.80	64.80
2000	37	Russia	16.90	25.00	16.64	5.67	64.20
2000	38	Georgia	14.82	21.68	19.40	8.05	63.96
2000	39	Sri Lanka	12.15	21.68	17.18	12.73	63.75
2000	40	Peru	14.82	21.04	17.65	9.79	63.31
2000	41	Nepal	8.79	18.37	18.34	17.63	63.13
2000	42	Guinea	14.82	6.17	18.06	23.42	62.47
2000	43	Algeria	20.26	21.04	17.27	3.76	62.33
2000	44	Congo (Brazzaville)	16.80	19.94	4.13	21.09	61.96
2000	45	Laos	13.54	16.16	18.63	13.08	61.41
2000	46	Azerbaijan	16.90	19.47	17.77	7.03	61.17
2000	47	Niger	10.77	15.52	20.11	14.74	61.14
2000	48	Mozambique	14.82	9.99	16.86	19.13	60.81
2000	49	Ecuador	14.82	21.04	20.04	4.87	60.78
2000	50	Armenia	16.21	19.47	17.70	6.35	59.73
2000	51	Bangladesh	12.85	17.73	19.03	9.98	59.58
2000	52	Cote D'Ivoire	18.87	10.93	14.94	14.29	59.04
2000	53	Zambia	11.46	13.61	13.71	19.68	58.46
		Central African					
2000	54	Republic	11.46	11.23	18.14	17.50	58.33
2000	55	Lebanon	14.82	25.00	15.01	2.24	57.07
2000	56	Senegal	6.72	23.89	16.69	8.63	55.93
		West Bank and					
2000	57	Gaza	16.21	25.00	10.52	3.70	55.43
2000	58	Philippines	11.46	23.89	17.32	4.70	57.38
2000	59	Cuba	17.59	16.62	15.16	5.52	54.89
2000	60	Zimbabwe	12.15	16.62	19.56	6.24	54.58
2000	61	Nicaragua	11.46	13.61	14.84	14.22	54.13
2000	62	Uzbekistan	10.18	14.41	18.16	11.02	53.77
2000	63	Ghana	14.82	6.97	18.02	13.40	53.22
2000	64	Togo	10.77	10.93	17.52	13.80	53.02
2000	65	Kenya	6.13	17.09	17.84	11.59	52.64
2000	66	Djibuti	8.10	5.06	18.62	20.64	52.43
2000	67	Bosnia	12.85	16.62	16.64	6.02	52.13
2000	68	Lesotho	10.77	11.23	15.19	14.54	51.73
2000	69	Burkina Faso	6.72	13.95	18.55	12.39	51.60
2000	70	South Africa	4.74	21.04	17.75	7.81	51.35
2000	71	Israel	13.54	25.00	12.31	0.50	51.34
2000	72	Solomon Islands	20.85	13.95	7.10	8.72	50.61
2000	73	Namibia	6.72	18.67	15.49	9.48	50.36
2000	74	Brazil	10.08	12.97	18.44	7.17	48.65
2000	75	Mexico	8.10	21.04	13.25	5.73	48.13
2000	76	Libya	20.26	9.65	14.12	3.61	47.64

Table B-1 continued.

Year	Rank	Country	Political	Military	Economic	Social	Total
2000	77	Equatorial Guinea	14.82	9.99	10.20	12.30	47.31
2000	78	El Salvador	10.77	13.61	16.30	6.32	47.00
2000	79	Paraguay	10.08	11.39	14.88	10.50	46.86
2000	80	Vietnam	13.54	3.02	17.40	12.53	46.48
2000	81	Mali	8.10	3.96	17.22	16.87	46.15
2000	82	Albania	10.77	15.52	17.02	2.59	45.89
2000	83	Ukraine	12.85	6.97	19.70	6.27	45.79
2000	84	Guatemala	11.46	11.39	17.23	5.02	45.11
2000	85	Turkmenistan	10.87	6.97	18.77	7.85	44.46
2000	86	Morocco	9.49	6.97	16.61	11.22	44.29
2000	87	Venezuela	10.77	6.97	18.57	7.87	44.19
2000	88	Gambia	14.82	3.02	16.70	9.21	43.75
2000	89	Fiji	21.54	13.95	5.50	2.21	43.19
2000	90	Kazakstan	9.49	9.99	17.31	6.08	42.86
2000	91	Thailand	11.46	13.31	15.25	2.75	42.77
2000	92	Cameroon	4.74	9.02	17.63	10.99	42.39
2000	93	Papua New Guinea	11.46	7.27	15.32	7.97	42.02
2000	94	South Korea	10.08	18.03	13.16	0.75	42.02
2000	95	Madagascar	4.05	3.02	18.35	16.15	41.57
2000	96	Kyrgyz Republic	4.05	13.95	18.61	4.37	40.98
2000	97	Moldova	8.10	9.99	20.32	2.18	40.59
2000	98	Romania	9.49	7.44	18.39	4.98	40.30
2000	99	Tanzania	6.13	9.18	17.51	7.57	40.39
2000	100	Bhutan	6.13	0.00	18.60	15.36	40.09
2000	101	Greece	9.49	12.67	17.27	0.50	39.92
2000	102	Croatia	4.74	16.62	12.70	5.60	39.67
2000	103	Spain	12.15	13.31	13.71	0.42	39.58
2000	104	Malawi	4.05	3.02	15.65	16.24	38.96
2000	105	Honduras	10.77	6.97	14.47	6.23	38.44
2000	106	United Kingdom	4.74	21.04	12.06	0.50	38.34
2000	107	Benin	6.72	0.00	16.40	15.06	38.18
2000	108	Bolivia	11.46	0.00	17.36	8.90	37.73
2000	109	Belarus	10.87	3.02	16.60	6.87	37.36
2000	110	Guyana	3.36	13.95	10.90	8.99	37.19
2000	111	Suriname	10.08	0.00	19.48	6.58	36.14
2000	112	Swaziland	4.05	10.93	8.92	12.13	36.03
2000	113	Cyprus	8.79	10.59	9.10	7.39	35.87
2000	114	Jordan	7.51	9.99	14.99	3.09	35.59
2000	115	Argentina	8.79	3.02	18.11	4.98	34.91
2000	116	Macedonia	2.08	9.99	14.67	6.78	33.51
2000	117	Saudi Arabia	10.18	4.12	16.34	1.66	32.31
2000	118	Dominican Republic	7.41	3.02	13.93	7.41	31.76
2000	119	Gabon	4.05	0.00	13.49	13.21	30.76
2000	120	Chile	11.46	0.00	15.25	3.89	30.61
2000	121	Tunisia	9.49	3.02	14.63	2.33	29.46
2000	122	Latvia	8.10	3.02	15.02	2.95	29.09
2000	123	Uruguay	3.36	0.00	16.86	8.82	29.03
2000	124	France	4.74	11.39	12.17	0.42	28.72
2000	125	Slovak Republic	7.41	3.02	12.99	4.15	27.57
2000	126	Bulgaria	6.82	3.02	16.13	1.16	27.13
2000	127	Ireland	8.10	16.62	1.06	0.50	26.29
2000	128	Malaysia	6.82	10.29	7.02	0.66	24.79
2000	129	Japan	3.36	3.02	17.07	0.33	23.78
2000	130	Mongolia	1.38	0.00	16.20	5.86	23.44

Table B-1 continued.

Year	Rank	Country	Political	Military	Economic	Social	Total
2000	131	Panama	4.05	14.07	3.31	1.92	23.34
2000	132	Bahrain	6.82	11.09	3.02	2.37	23.30
2000	133	Mauritius	4.74	3.96	12.94	1.58	23.22
2000	134	Italy	3.36	5.23	13.92	0.42	22.92
2000	135	Czech Republic	4.05	3.02	13.66	2.12	22.85
2000	136	Cape Verde	0.00	0.00	14.84	7.97	22.82
2000	137	Jamaica	3.36	3.02	12.63	3.62	22.62
2000	138	Botswana	4.05	0.00	11.62	6.68	22.36
2000	139	United States	0.00	4.12	16.90	0.58	21.60
2000	140	Poland	4.74	0.00	15.45	0.83	21.02
2000	141	Lithuania	1.38	3.02	13.79	2.45	20.64
2000	142	Australia	0.69	3.02	15.41	0.42	19.53
2000	143	Costa Rica	1.38	0.00	16.47	1.08	18.93
2000	144	Taiwan	6.72	0.00	11.51	0.50	18.73
		United Arab					
2000	145	Emirates	10.87	3.02	2.31	2.37	18.56
2000	146	Portugal	4.05	0.00	12.63	0.66	17.35
		Trinidad and					
2000	147	Tobago	4.05	0.00	10.70	1.84	16.59
2000	148	Austria	4.05	3.02	8.26	0.42	15.75
2000	149	Germany	0.69	3.02	10.68	0.42	14.81
2000	150	Barbados	0.00	0.00	12.69	1.93	14.62
2000	151	New Zealand	0.00	0.00	13.89	0.42	14.30
2000	152	Canada	0.00	3.96	9.86	0.42	14.23
2000	153	Qatar	6.13	3.02	3.19	1.77	14.10
2000	154	Grenada	0.00	0.00	3.68	10.01	13.68
2000	155	Hungary	0.00	0.00	12.55	0.83	13.38
2000	156	Denmark	0.69	3.02	7.96	0.42	12.08
2000	157	Estonia	0.00	0.00	9.59	2.45	12.04
2000	158	Kuwait	6.82	0.00	4.22	1.00	12.04
2000	159	Belize	0.00	0.00	5.71	5.83	11.54
2000	160	Maldives	3.46	0.00	1.70	5.98	11.14
2000	161	Brunei	3.46	0.00	2.66	4.07	10.19
2000	162	Sweden	0.69	3.02	5.40	0.33	9.44
2000	163	Norway	0.69	0.00	8.37	0.33	9.40
2000	164	Slovenia	0.69	0.00	8.23	0.42	9.34
2000	165	Finland	0.69	0.00	8.14	0.33	9.16
2000	166	Oman	2.77	0.00	3.19	1.84	7.80
2000	167	Switzerland	1.38	3.02	2.84	0.33	7.57
2000	168	Netherlands	0.00	3.02	3.67	0.42	7.10
2000	169	Iceland	0.69	0.00	5.78	0.42	6.88
2000	170	Belgium	0.69	3.02	2.63	0.50	6.83
2000	171	Singapore	2.77	0.00	1.56	0.33	4.66
2000	172	Luxembourg	0.69	0.00	1.92	0.33	2.94

APPENDIX C COOK'S DISTANCE PLOT

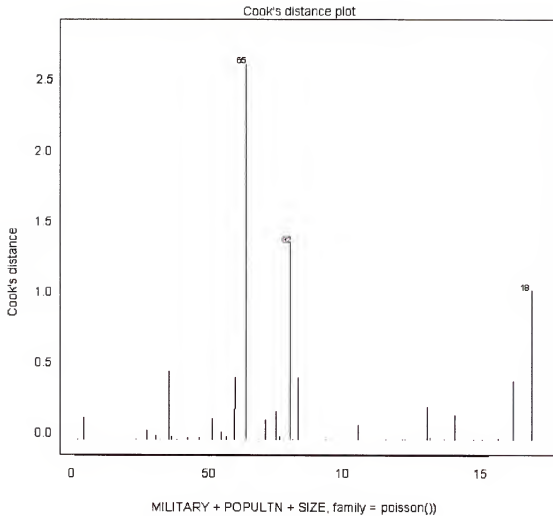


Figure C-1. Cook's distance plot.

65=France, 82=Israel, 189=Yugoslavia

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Guy Golan research focuses on international and political communication in addition to research on media effects and the relationship between religion and media. Golan is a former political professional who worked on several major political campaigns around the world. Golan has published studies in such communication journals as *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, *Journal of Media and Religion*, *The Gazette* and *Global Media Journal*.